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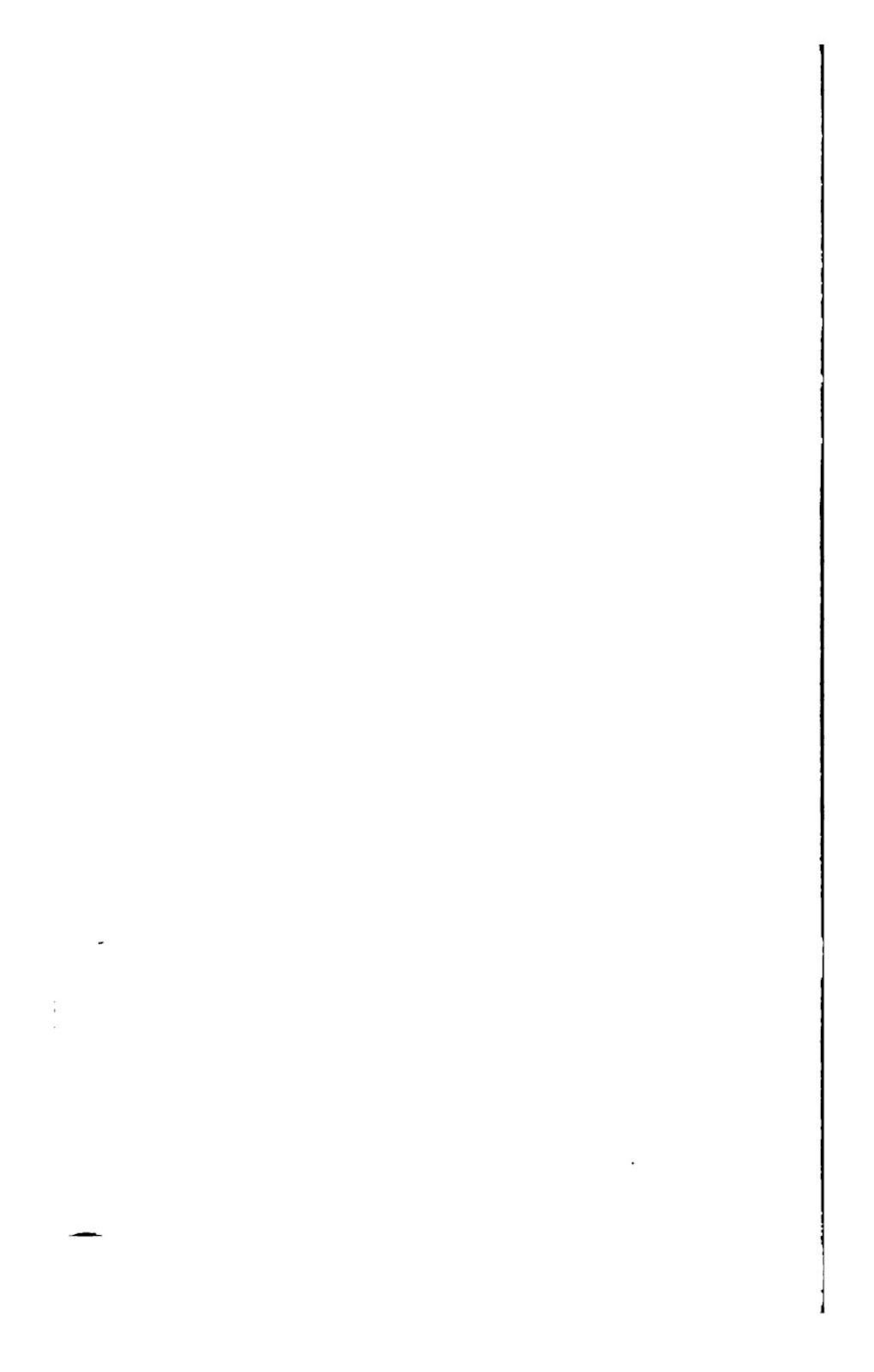
FROM THE BEQUEST OF
CHARLES SUMNER
CLASS OF 1830

Senator from Massachusetts

POR BOOKS RELATING TO
POLITICS AND FINE ARTS







RUSSIA AND TURKEY.

LONDON:

E. TUCKER, PRINTER, PERRY'S PLACE, OXFORD STREET.

THE NATIONS

OF

RUSSIA AND TURKEY,

AND

THEIR DESTINY.

BY

IVAN GOLOVIN,

AUTHOR OF '*The Caucasus.*'

Товарищъ вѣрь, она вѣйдетъ
Заря пѣнительного счастья :
Россія вспрянетъ ото сна,
И на обломкахъ самовластия
Напишутъ наши имена.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

England taking great interest in being acquainted with every part of the globe, geographical pursuits flourish indeed here, but the knowledge of that subject is not very extensive.* Therefore the names or the labours of Russian travellers or writers ought to be no longer unknown, as those of Sjögren, Lönrot, Castren, Weniaminoff, Middendorf, Khanikof, Basiner, Hofman, Khoklof, Fedotov, Gribof, Yefremof, &c.

The works of Venelin upon Bulgaria, and of Bronewski on Montenegro, are not to be found in London—not even in the British Museum: and whilst pamphlets written by Frenchmen upon Russia are rendered into English, the valuable collections of the academicians Baer, Hemersen, and Erman, have not been translated. Even the work of Cyprien Robert's, "Les Slaves de la Turquie," is only just now open to the English public.

I owe the information in respect of the Tahtars of Kazan and Astrakhan to a Russian just arrived from that country, and I am not of the opinion of Klaproth upon the Tahtars.

I resided six years in the Baltic provinces, and believe that I am well acquainted with their particular state.

* *The Times* once placed Riga in Poland, said another time that the order of St. Anna is only given to princes of royal blood, and that M. Gretch is the author of the work just published, 'the Pentarchie.' In the list of the Russian ministers containing seven names, it committed five mistakes. A member of parliament asked why the Russians on their occupation of the Principalities crossed the Pruth and not the Danube? Every day, I am obliged to repeat, that Riga is the chief town of Lievland, Reval of Esthland, and Mittau of Curland.

I published in 1839, in Russia, the relation of a tour in Sweden, after a visit paid to Finland.

I owe several details relating to the Cossacks, to a work of Kostomarof's upon the Russian literature, quite unknown in Europe. History is not the work of invention, and should always be confirmed by referring to sources.

I owe my information upon the Russian heretics to a Russian work, written by an ancient sectarian, who was for a long time in prison.

In respect to the nations of the Caucasus, my own work was a sufficient guide. It contains quotations from Bestoujef and Lermontof, and the relation of the war, as well as the description of Daghestan are made from Russian sources.

The present work may serve as an augmentation and improvement of *Russia under Nicholas*, published in French in 1845, in the English edition of which I have not any interest.

A Russian by birth, and an Englishman by naturalization, I owe the truth to both countries, and I hope there is no want of intelligent men to accept it. I did not wait for the storm which Nicholas called down on his head, to speak severely of his "selfishness and faithlessness," and I am even astonished myself that people have trusted to him so long.

Some of the political articles contained herein have been admitted by papers of the first rank.

LONDON, April, 1854.

MOHAMEDANISM AND BYZANTINISM.

I WILL attempt to describe the situation of Musulmen under the Russian sceptre, and the fate of Christian populations under the Ottoman rule. But the question is not merely as to whether the former or the latter are more happy or have been more oppressed? Russia has extended herself to the West as well as to the East, in Europe as well as in Asia.

Many Asiatic tribes have been subjected to her, and possessing Siberia, Kalmucks and Bashkires, a part of Armenia, she aims at Khiva and Bukhara,* is carrying on continual war in the

* In 1841, two English officers, Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly were imprisoned by the Khan of Bukhara and put to death, whilst the Russian Colonel Buteneff and his companions, invited by him to search for gold, were quite well received and kindly dismissed, after they had fulfilled their mission.

Caucasus, gives commands to Persia, and menaces India. Should her progress be stopped, should Turkey vanquish her, the Porte will then become a dominant Asiatic power, and rally round her banner all the Musulman nations. Is Mahomedanism destined now to recover its past glory, and again play a great part in the world? That is the question which can alone be solved by the solution of another, that is, whether the Turkish civilization will be greater and more humane than the Russian is? Russia has heaped crimes on crimes against man, and against God; Turkey will perhaps be awakened to a new life by the danger with which her hereditary foe threatens her.

The Byzantine faith has lost the Low Empire, and it is rather the cause of the weakness than of the strength of Russia. We shall see the mismanagement of the established church in Russia, and the stupidities of the heretic sects.

Whilst Mohamedanism is constrained to be-

come more and more tolerant, the Russian church shows herself less and less so.

The reform in Turkey is not merely the introduction of blue paletots, of European modes of warfare, but also the establishment of schools, journals, &c. In Russia it is nothing but the borrowing of Prussian helmets and Austrian rifles.

The Russia of Nicholas, by way of regeneration, as a poet said, took for the cavalry, trousers with new stripes, and for the infantry, moustaches. But on his ascending the throne, Nicholas hanged five reformers and exiled 200! Still, however, the science of march (*shagquistika*) is the only science looked upon by the Czar.

Peter I abolished the Russian Patriarchate, and when somebody said in his presence, that he was greater than Louis XIV, he answered : " He was in many things superior to me, but in one

point of view I have done more than he ; he was under the orders of the priest, and I have subdued them." Peter instituted a synod, and Nicholas placed at its head a general of cavalry !

Greece, after having been emancipated, instituted also a synod, and became independent of the Patriarch of Constantinople ; but the Greek synod is not only connected with the St. Petersburg synod ; it is also under the influence of the Czar.

Whilst Byzantinism in Russia has shown itself to be a weapon in the hands of the Czar for temporal purposes, it has no more dignity in Turkey. The Greek *papas* are as ignorant as the Russian *popes*,* and the clergy of Servia and Bulgaria need reformation too.

* A drunken priest, in baptising a new-born female infant, instead of calling it Basilissa, called it Basil. At the period of the conscription the father of the girl was perplexed, and took steps to establish the identity of the child and its sex. In vain ; the auth-

Russia not only made war against the Turks, but already against the Low Empire. Oleg, Igor, Swiatoslav, three Russian dukes, invaded the Low Empire, or led their fleets against Constantinople. This was then before the arrival of the Turks in Greece, and before the acceptance of the Greek faith by the Russians, a sufficient proof that conquest has been their constant aim, and that the shores of the Bosphorus have always been a great temptation to them.

Civilization is not exclusively Chinese or Greek, Musulman or Christian, it is cosmopolite and cosmoreligious. We owe letters to the

rities replied that the civil registers could not be touched, the priest was not degraded, and the girl remained a boy, so that if she had been called to serve under the Russian standard, she might have made a second Alexandrof—captain of Russian hussars, a *decoré*, an author, and a maiden !

The other day, while turning over some state documents, we found a manifesto of the Emperor Alexander's issued a little before the battle of Tilsit, calling the Russians to arms, and calling the war against Napoleon "*a holy war*," seeing that he had adored public women at Paris, and at Cairo had professed Islamism !

Phœnicians, cyphers to the Arabs, gunpowder to the Chinese and the Germans. What has Russia done for mankind? She threatens the world with universal autocracy, an Asiatic despotism blessed with the Byzantine cross, and grafted on German bureaucracy.

The gulf between the Rayas and the Osmanlis will be filled up by emigrants from all countries. But as long as the family life is a sequestred life in Turkey, publicity will not penetrate into this country; and as long as the civil law has not the ascendancy over the religious law, reform will prove inefficient.

To save a state which is threatened with ruin is a difficult task; but I do not say with the Koran (xi, 32), "every nation has her end: when her turn come, people can neither retard nor advance it." ABDUL-MEDJID should not say with MUSTAPHA III: "The empire is overthrown, do not imagine that it can be restored by us;" or with

a vizier of Abdulhamed's, " In Asia too there are shady valleys where kiosks may be built."

I do not believe that Turkey will live only so long as her heirs do not agree in what manner to share their inheritance. Her populations will have to be consulted in the determining of their fate, and when revolutions are matured, they await nobody's permission to break out. The future belongs to nations and their honour !

There are, however, in Russia, some of the population more unhappy than the Rayas in Turkey ; these are the Russian serfs. The Russian law does not allow Musulmen to possess Christian serfs, but Christians are allowed to hold those who are their brethren, by blood and by faith, in slavery. What bad understanding of Christian's word !

Charity is indeed diffused throughout Russia ; you may pass through the whole country without

money, certain that nobody will refuse to assist you: in Lithuania things change ; and in England, said a Russian deserter to me, my host would not eat with me in common, because, after dinner, I am accustomed to make the sign of the cross !

Well, in Turkey, charity and hospitality are generously practised too.

THE PAST, THE PRESENT, AND THE FUTURE OF RUSSIA.

THE PAST.

If the Frenchman ought not to be proud of that name which calls to mind the conquest of his country by the Germans (Franks), the Russian must also remember, that the name he bears is not his own. The Russians are Sclavonians by extraction as well as by language, while the *Russi* were Normans or Wariagians.

The arrival of the Wariagian Princes opens the history of Russia, which consists of ten centuries. The first two of paganism or barbarism, followed by two centuries of aspiration to freedom and civilization, after the accepting of the Christian faith, till the arrival of the Mongolians, who reduced Russia to a state of dependence for two centuries, and removed her further from the West and from the light. After the expulsion of the Tahtars, we have two centuries of Czarism, of a Mongolo-Byzantian despotism, during which Russia became one single state. Then follow troubles, interregnums, wars with Poland, and a return to some little liberty, a sort of constitution with

two members, electing of the Czar, whose crown, however, has remained in the family of Romanof.

This house produced one single remarkable man, Peter I, who laid the foundation of an empire which he destined to become an universal one. It is a difficult task for history to decide whether his great qualities or his vices predominated. His affability hardly equalled his cruelty and luxury; but his establishment of the fleet, of the army, of Petersburgh, &c., remain unquestionable evidences of his merits.

The history of Russia is the history of its conquests, which alone explains the resignation of the people to the dreadful despotism of the Czars. Ivan conquers Astrakhan and Kazan; Alexis acquires possession of the Ukraine; Peter I, the Baltic Provinces; Catherine II, Lithuania, Podolia, Wolhynia, the Crimea, and a part of the Caucasus; Alexander I, Georgia and Finland; Nicholas, Poland and a part of Armenia.

No equivalent advantages were gained at home. Peter I introduced the European customs, but strengthened the chains of the slaves by attaching them to the landowners.

Catherine II patronised poetry and philosophy, but introduced slavery in the Ukraine; Alexander was liberal, but his projects of a constitution saw not the light; and Nicholas arrests the progress of literature, exiles poets, or kills them.

No revolutions in Russia except court murders.

Boris Godounof murders the last descendant of the house of Rurik. Peter I, after having executed his own son, left his crown to Catherine Skawronska, the daughter of a Polish peasant. He was the greatest revolutionist in Russia. He destroyed his own dynasty, he democratised the nobility, and by violence introduced the manners of foreign countries. Catherine II dethroned her husband ; and her son, Paul I, was killed by conspirators, among whom Alexander played a part. The ascension of Nicholas was marked by an unsuccessful insurrection.

Even the rebellions have a royal character. A great many false Demetriuses troubled the country at the time of interregnums. We have two false Alexanders, who take the name of the first son of Peter I, who died when a child. PUGACHEF, who made Catherine II tremble on her throne, got as many partizans as he had by giving himself out for Peter III ; but, like STENKA RIAZIN, he met with supporters among heretics and slaves. In imitation of Huss, he said, "I am not a robber, I am a little raven, the great one is to come."

THE CRIMES OF THE ROMANOF HOLSTEIN.

The crimes of the Roman Empire were perpetrated through the ambition of a great many individuals. The crimes of the Russian Empire are the work of one and the same family.

Like Ivan IV, Peter I murdered his son by poison and bleeding. Thus Alexis conspired against his father on account of his intended marriage with Catherine, the wife of a Swedish dragoon, the mistress of Marshal Sheremeteff, and of Menshikof; and indeed, when Empress, she continued her scandalous life. She had a love affair with Moens de la Croix, and after the death of Peter, she lived with Rieenvolden and Sapietra. Anne and Elizabeth, her two daughters by Peter, were doubly the children of adultery, as the first wife of Peter and the husband of Catherine were living at the time of their birth. Peter accused his first wife, Eudoxiae Lapukhin, of being connected with Glebof, whom he impaled, and then went himself to the place of execution to insult him, but Glebof spit in his face. Moens de la Croix lost his head on the block, and Peter led Catherine the day after to see the corpse of her lover. He also went to the execution of Miss Hamilton, who had killed the child which she had by him, going for the purpose of inspiring her with courage to die. Compelling his favourites to assist him, he cut off the heads of the rebellious Strelitz (Russian Janissaries), and with the help of his German surgeon, dissected their bodies. Orlof, who displayed great courage when about to be executed, was the only Strelitz who received pardon; he became the founder of the well-known family of that name.

The Empress Anne lived with Biren, the grandson

of a Curlandish groom, who directed the government.

Elizabeth came to the throne, thanks to Lestoq the French surgeon, and had for her lovers a Vorontzof, a Chevalier d'Eon, a Rasoumoffsky, to whom she was secretly married, and all her pages. She continued the political inquisition, and sent to prison Ivan, whom she had before presented to the people as her successor.

Catherine II had a Silva, a Soltykof, for her lovers, when her husband was still living. She became, assisted by the Princess Dashkof, a revolutionist, a conspirator, in order, as she said, "to have a little power for rendering the poor people happy." Doctor Kruse prepared the *strong potion* for Peter III, but this not working quick enough, Prince Bariatinski, Potemkin, and Orlof strangled the Holstein prince, then Russian Emperor, and the Princess of Anhalt (Catherine) became the Empress of Russia and the mistress of Orlof, Potemkin, and of one or two hundred others.

Two years afterwards, the unhappy Ivan II was assassinated in the dungeon of Shlüsselburgh.

Paul, the son of Catherine and Soltykoff, was strangled by Zouboff, Benningsen, Orlof, and others, his son Alexander having had a hand in the conspiracy.

The Grand Duke Constantine killed two women in Strelna, the one by trying his little cannon how it would fire, the other by delivering her up to the lust

of his officers and soldiers, in order to punish her for her fidelity to her husband ! He killed the husband of another woman in Berlin, and received an order to quit Prussia. He himself fell a sacrifice to the *Cholera* !

Nicholas has many illegitimate children, but adultery is overlooked in Russia, at least in the Head of the Church.

THE PRESENT.

The Russian Empire is 2072 geographical miles in length, and 699 in breadth. Russia in Europe occupies, according to M. Struve, 104,731 square miles, and Siberia 229,019. (These miles are calculated at 15 to the degree). Of cultivated soil there are not more than 17,854 square miles. The forests occupy 38½ per cent., and the prairies 12 per cent. of the entire superficies.

The population of Russia in Europe is about 62,047,000, that of Russia in Asia about 4,638,000, which gives for the former 648 inhabitants per square mile, while Great Britain has 4,983 inhabitants per square mile.

In Russia in Europe there are only 733 towns, or one town for every 130½ square miles, while in France there is one town for every 10½ square miles. In Russia they cannot count on an average more than

679 houses for each town; and the wooden houses are seven times more numerous than those built of brick. The state of things in this respect is still worse in Siberia, so that the official writers do well to keep silence about them. Kertch and Odessa are the only towns built entirely of stone, and that is because the country by which they are surrounded is destitute of wood.

Russia produces 260 millions of tchetverts of grain (8 tchetverts to the quarter). The average prices are, for oats, 3 roubles 61 kopecks, and for wheat, 5 roubles 67 kopecks, which is 56 per cent. cheaper than in France, and 18½ per cent. cheaper than in Prussia.

The cultivation of the potatoe is viewed with great repugnance by the peasantry, but the beet-root is more popular, as developing the manufacture of sugar.

Russia produces fifteen times as much wine as she imports from foreign parts. She annually exports several million tchetverts of grain, and timber to the value of 3 millions of roubles. The total number of cattle is estimated at 25 millions, or five head for twelve inhabitants. Russia exports 3,810,000 pouds of tallow, worth 13,871,000 silver roubles. The English breeds of cattle thrive poorly on account of the climate, which is better suited to the Tyrolese breeds. It is in Tauris and the country of the Cossacks of the Don that the pastures are

most abundant, and the cattle most numerous; but the internal consumption and the exportation are too small to stimulate improvement in the breed of cattle.

The total number of horses is estimated at 18 millions, which is several times the number possessed by Austria, 12 millions belong to agriculture; but the motive power of these horses is scarcely a fourth of that exercised by an English horse. The Russian cavalry absorbs the best horses; those used for agricultural purposes are the worst. The Russian Stud-book contains, nevertheless, nine hundred and twenty-five names of brood mares of the very best blood. There have been established by the Minister of the Imperial Domains dépôts for breeding horses, which give hopes of success. The severity of the climate carries off during the winter, in those districts where horses are bred, more than a tenth of the number. In Poland and the Baltic provinces they are the most successful, and more intelligence is applied to the cultivation of the breed.

There are many flocks of merinos in the south of Russia, but the dryness of the steppes is injurious to them. The washing and sorting of the wool is performed with much negligence; they wash it in dirty water, to increase the weight, and make no distinction between dead wool and wool sheared from the living animal. For these causes, Russian wool is not worth more than half the price of German, and can only be used in the manufacture of hats.

The want of pasture produces epizootic diseases. The feeding of cattle with hay does not fatten them properly. The want of artificial meadows, thanks to a system of culture called the three-field system, prevents the planting of provender for cattle and exhausts the soil. Irrigation cannot be effected on account of the scarcity of upland water; Russia being a vast plain, exposed to the winds. Want of capital has much to do with the precarious state of Russian agriculture; serfdom and a barbarous state of communism still more. One half of the Russian peasantry is attached to the land, and is the property of the landlords, the other half belongs to the Crown—all rigorously observing a kind of communism, which consists in proceeding every seven or fifteen years to a new partition of land—an immense obstacle to the amelioration of the soil.

The gold-mining in the Ural mountains only dates from 1819, and in Eastern Siberia from 1829. In 1848, the mines produced 1135 pouds* of gold. In the same year were produced only 1135 pouds of silver. Platina-mining has so declined that it only produces the value of a few thousand roubles. The total produce of iron is 15 millions of pouds, which does not suffice for the requirements of the population. It is, moreover, very dear, owing mostly to the difficulty of transport; for it principally comes from Perm, which is at the very extremity of the

* A *pud* is equivalent to 40 lbs.

empire. The produce of the copper-mining exceeds the requirements of the country, and Russia exports that metal to the value of a million of silver roubles. Strata of pit-coal and anthracite have been discovered in the province of Azov, between the Dnieper and the Donitz, and these bid fair to be productive. The salt mines belong to the State, and their working is made proportionate to the necessities of consumption; but in spite of the abundance of this article, the difficulty of transport causes it to be imported from abroad.

Industrial manufactures have to struggle in Russia with obstacles which prevent men from rising out of their position of inferiority; these are—the want of capital, the high rate of interest, the difficulty of communication, the high prices of iron, fuel, and chemicals, which are imported from abroad, as also the machinery and skilled workmen: add to these the scarcity of labourers; while those who are procurable leave the fields during the winter to come and work at the factories, without acquiring the requisite degree of dexterity.

One of the most important of the Russian manufactures is indisputably that of flax. There are no less than twelve millions of pounds of flax grown annually, of which four millions and a half are exported; but they persist in combing the flax with pigs'-bristle brushes, which renders it useless for fine threads, and they will not adopt the metal brushes,

because a pair of them costs £3. sterling. The spinning of flax by machinery would require the sinking of a capital of six millions of roubles; so there are only a few incomplete attempts, or ones that have already failed.

The manufacture of cloth is infinitely superior to that in Poland; but it is an invincible argument in favour of Free-trade, that ever since the annexation of Poland the competition has produced such emulation that the introduction of foreign cloths has diminished; but still, in spite of high duties, the finer cloths manufactured in Russia cost more than those imported, which arises from the fact that the wool trade is in the hands of traders who spoil the wools by an unfair and clumsy method of manipulation, and that colouring materials, like good workmanship, are too dear.

If we had to praise the principle of equality and fraternity, as serving for a foundation for Russian communism, we might search in vain for any germ of liberty. The head of a Russian family, who is not always the eldest, but who calls himself the *anisen*, is the despot of the whole. He disposes, like an absolute master, of the property of the family generally. They pay him a blind obedience. "The Czar is only the *anisen* of the *anisens*, the father of all the Russians; they want a *quand même*, as a queen is nested in a bee-hive" (we quote M. Haxthausen), "be he Russian, or be he German, man or woman, it is of little importance to them;" in point of fact

communism hinders the development of riches, whilst it encourages the increase of the population. There is a reserve of land from which they parcel out lots to add to the property of those fathers who have many young children.

M. Haxthausen computes the number of the troops which Russia could send into Europe, without removing the garrison of the Caucasus, at 500,000 men ; and he says that the statements of Custine and Golovin, who declare otherwise, are not to be believed. Since the works of these authors have been published, the Russian regiments have been increased ; but nevertheless, we believe that of these 500,000 men there are at least 200,000 who only exist upon paper.

His enumeration of the Russian fleet is more just. There are 45 vessels of the line, 30 frigates, 20 brigs, and 5 corvettes, with 50,600 men, costing twelve millions of roubles annually.

THE FUTURE.

Either Russia will conquer Europe, or she will be dismembered, or she will be transfused into the United Slavonian States. She cannot remain as she is. A State is not allowed to stop in the way of conquest. If Russia should attempt it, the conquered would revenge themselves, or undermine the actual state of things. Granting neither civilization nor wealth—offering only a military despotism—the Russian Government is not easy in a state of peace.

The nomade tribes of Russia have plenty of land, and are not numerous enough to invade Europe. Besides, under what pretence would the Russians do it? They bring with them neither light, nor superiority of any other kind. Are the European nations demoralized as the Romans were? Industry does not demoralize as conquest does, and the Russians are become rotten before they have grown ripe. The Russian communism would not suit an advanced stage of civilization, such as the European is; and if Western Europe is destined to become communist, that communism would spring from her own bosom.

Should Poland recover her independence, and Turkey and Sweden regain their possessions, Russia might turn again to a Moscovian dukedom, as the Cossacks also hate the Russian rule—as the Circassians desire to be independent.

But if mind and vigour are not completely lost in Russia, an internal revolution will lead to the formation of the United Slavonian States. Poland would then enter into a confederacy with Russia; and the **LITTLE RUSSIANS**,¹ whose numbers are equal to the Great Russians, but whose language is a different one, would form the third State of the Union.

The Slavonians of Turkey and Austria would form the other part of the Union, the metropolis of which would be Kiev, Constantinople being then destined to become the chief town of the Greek Republic.

¹ The inhabitants of Ukraine.

If Democracy—a Federative Republic—is the future of Europe, the Slavonian United States will give rise to the Roman and German Unions. “Europe,” said Napoleon, “will become Cossack or Republican;” and there is at least as much probability of the latter, as of the former alternative.

There is no other possibility of reconciling Poland with Russia, but by a confederation of the two.

The Slavonian Union will not allow a preponderancy, each member of the Union being equal in population, from 20,000,000 to 23,000,000 ; and the 83,000,000 of Slavonians being equipoised by the Germans on one side, and by the Union of France with Italy and Spain on the other side, the European equilibrium will be altered, but not destroyed.

As soon as the Russian Autocracy shall fall, will the Slavonian Union arise; for the ideas of Pan-slavism are stronger than those of a Constitution in Russia and in Poland. The English Constitution does not suit Europe, which is destitute of an English aristocracy and an English mind; and the essays of French and German Constitutions were abortive.

Hungary, so much of her population being Slavonian, and Wallachia, will of course join the Slavonian, Union, as being geographically obliged to do so.

If a dismemberment of Russia is inevitable, her becoming a member of the Slavonian Union is the most natural transformation. Are the Magyars to quarrel with the Turks about the Crimea, or Poland

with Russia about Smolensk or Kiev? The votes of the majority of the people themselves—the language most usually spoken amongst them—will decide to what State they are to belong.

In every case, Russia will remain a State great enough; but, instead of being the property of a single man, she will become a free and civilized country, and will strengthen herself through liberty and light.

Siberia—like Kursk, Viatka, and every country used for banishment—is full of the spirit of freedom; and when her population shall have increased, she will separate herself from Russia, or perhaps become an independent country, or an American colony, should the enterprizing spirit of American adventurers penetrate to the mines of Siberia.

The Baltic Provinces may join Germany, as being antipathetical to the Russian patriot.

Russian slavery having been grafted by monarchy on the Russian State, will cease only with its destruction. Alexis Mikhailowich and Catherine II thought of emancipating the slaves, but could not. The so much praised energy of Nicholas appears powerless in respect to that evil, and nothing but a radical revolution could break the chains of the serfs.

The Russian nobility, having no other right but to possess slaves, and that right being the greatest injustice, having nothing else to do but to fleece the slaves, are unable to be the support of a constitutional monarchy and must finally disappear.

RUSSIAN MISRULE.

PLUNDERING HABITS AMONG RUSSIAN FUNCTIONARIES.

No doubt, if we consulted the Russian nation, or their representatives, if there were any, Russia would not be drawn into perpetual wars—the fabrication of paper money and the loss of lives would be prevented.

What is the cause of the want of good generals in Russia, if it be not the despotical form of government which does not allow talent to make its way? No talent is without self-respect, or liberty of mind and action; therefore, the more intelligent men retire early from service, in order to escape vexations and bad treatment from the Czar and his favourites. The most arbitrary power likes not any discretion on the part of the generals, who are always obliged to refer for orders to the metropolis. How can the operations of war be well managed in such a way? The age of Catherine II produced many distinguished generals, because the Empress did not interfere with in their operations.

The Russian functionaries steal without any conscience. This comes from want of publicity, and will, of course, never cease but by the exposure of such abuses.

Peter I used to say, that only those Russians who have hair growing in their hands did not steal; meaning that there were none at all. Catherine, the wife of Peter, used to share, with Menshikof and other high functionaries, in the profits of their embezzlements. Peter, enraged at this, told her that he would annihilate those abuses as he did the looking-glass; and Catherine replied—"What have you got by this? You have broken one of the ornaments of your palace." The Russian historians used to quote these words as a proof of Catherine's understanding; but misdeeds are no ornament to a state.

M. Haxthausen admits the existence of great peculation in the civil administration, as well as in the army; but he pretends that Nicholas has done a great deal to abolish it. This puts us in mind of an unpublished anecdote. The Emperor asked General Martinoff one day, how it happened that the Commissaries of Police had such fine horses and such handsome furs—whether they bought them with their pay. "They have eleven to twelve hundred roubles a-year," replied the General. "And how much do they spend?" "From ten to twelve thousand," was the reply. "How, then, do they manage?" "I must leave your Majesty to guess." "That is a point upon which I never thought before," replied the Czar. If he has reflected upon it since, we are assured that he has done nothing to amend it.

In the Hungarian campaign, 1849, a Russian officer

stole from a Magyar a pair of horses, which were traced, and returned to the owner, to whom the Russian general said—"Make no noise about this affair: the officer is a good one in every respect; he has only the weakness to steal sometimes."

A priest stole his clerk's watch. His superior obliged him to pay 100 rubles to his clerk, to whom he said—"You must not look at the frailty of your superiors."

General Politkowsky stole 8,000,000 rubles; and Nicholas said to Count Orlof—"When a student says anything against me, I learn it immediately; but when millions are stolen, I am the last to know it." He appointed a commission to inquire into embezzling practices, and the report was such that he said to Count Orlof—"There is only one single man in the empire who does not steal." The Count bowed, believing himself to be the man; but the Czar added—"That is I!"

But Nicholas himself appropriated the Church funds, to pay the expenses of his voyage to Sicily.¹

Prince Gorczakof, Governor-General of Siberia, drew from the treasury, for a great many years, money for the support of a military school in Omsk, which never existed.

On the Caucasus, gunpowder is sold by the Russian officers to the Circassians; and medicines in the hos-

¹ See *Mémoires d'un Prêtre Russe*, par Ivan Golovine. Paris, 1849.

pitals are habitually stolen throughout the entire empire !

It is, then, no matter of astonishment that a sort of baron, in the war of 1828-29, was brought to trial for fraud, and that he succeeded, however, in becoming an ambassador. The astonishment is, that he was tolerated at a court of the first rank.

THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS.

Russia is but one man, and what is that man ? We have never believed in his devotion ; he has only the hypocrisy of belief. His private life is a tissue of licentiousness and wrong-doings. Profligate, arrogant, revengeful, malignant, and ignorant, he would have been an object of hatred and disgust as a private individual. By what unhappy fatality then is such a man to be an object of adoration because he holds in his hands the supreme power over seventy millions of men ? Is it not a disgrace to all humanity that such a man should dispose of the lives of seventy millions, many of whom are of higher worth than himself ?

The Russians believe that England caused the death of Paul I, but Paul I was merely a madman with a blind love for Napoleon ; while Nicholas is the assassin of Poland, Hungary, and Armenia ; and he would fain have added Turkey to his victims, but that he has neither the courage nor the power.

Europe does not yet know this man. He is thought to have talents, and he has only vices. History will only be puzzled which title to give him—"A crowned Don Quixotte," "A drill-sergeant spoiled," or "A woman-whipper."

Haynau was only his pupil. We could give the names of women whom Nicholas has caused to be whipped by the police for the crime of Liberalism; and so true is it, that at St. Petersburg anybody can tell you how these affairs are managed. In fact, the Russians are so broken in to despotism, that they look on it as quite natural that women should be punished, and punished by the whip. Besides, is it not known to all the world that a Russian woman who is not regularly beaten by her husband at once begins to believe that he loves her no longer?

When Pushkin, the greatest poet of Russia, fell by the hand of an adventurer, and the people were crowding round the house where he lay, Nicholas, in his jealousy, allowed the Frenchman who had killed him in the duel to escape; and, meeting Kryloff, the fabulist, he said to him, "What a pity that Pushkin is dead." "Sire, it is an irreparable loss," answered the old man. "Yes, he gave excellent dinners," replied the Emperor, who was speaking of Count Mussin Pushkin, who had died at Moscow some months before. What exquisite taste!

Lermontoff, another eminent Russian poet, died,

and Nicholas exclaimed—"He lived like a dog, and he has died like one!"

Ryleïeff was a distinguished lyric poet. Nicholas hanged him! That is his way of treating Russian talent. Polejaïeff was another young poet of Liberal tendencies. Nicholas called him to him and embraced him. Everybody believed that he meant to take him into favour. He made him a soldier; and when the poet died, a friend, wishing to find his body, was told to go and look among the boxes which are used as coffins for the common soldiers! Sakoloffsky wrote some spirited verses against the Czar. His judges asked him whether he had not hurled his fiercest invectives against God? "Yes," replied the poet, "knowing that God is more merciful than the Czar." He was thrown into a dungeon, which he never quitted, save as a corpse.

Even at this very moment Nicholas is wreaking his vengeance on Bakunin, whom he is pledged to Austria to keep immured in prison.

Disgust prevents our continuing the sad list of victims, and we will therefore conclude by mentioning a single fact, to show his mode of treating female poets.

Madame Rastoptchin wrote some verses entitled "The Husband and the Wife." The husband is Russia, and the wife is Poland, and the poet shows that if they do not love one another, it is for want of a proper understanding. Madame Rastoptchin was

exiled to Moscow ; the Court goes there, and, at the end of a few months, the Empress meets the exile at Madame Nesselrode's, and invites her to a ball at the palace. As soon as Nicholas sees her, he orders her to quit the palace !

I am about, once more, to have recourse to anecdotes—not that I have a passion for them, but because they help to form the history of Autocrats, whether they are called Haroun-al-Raschid, Ali Pasha, or Nicholas. And, as the name of Ali Pasha presents itself under my pen, impartiality obliges me to say that Nicholas is better than Ali Pasha : he does not load his cannon with the men who have incurred his anger ; he only treats men as food for powder. He has sown the fields of Turkey with the bones of 400,000 Russians in his campaigns of 1828 and 1829, and he has left 100,000 soldiers in Poland. The Caucasus costs 20,000 men yearly. Multiply that number by the number of years of the reign of Nicholas, and then say how many men that individual has caused to perish, and what sort of an account he will be able to render in the other world, since in this he is above the law !

At the Female Orphan Institution, St. Petersburg, there is the nursery for governesses, placed under the orders of Count Vielhiegourski. One of the young ladies found herself in an interesting condition, and became a mother, without the superintendents being able to indicate precisely which of them it was. The

Emperor, furious, proceeded to the place in person. He harangued the young ladies, and declared that, unless the guilty one named herself, he would cause them all to be visited by professional men ; and that, if she did, she should be pardoned. No one presented herself, and the Czar left the house, giving himself up to a rage which is difficult to depict. As he passed through the corridor, one of the students threw herself at his feet, and declared that, to save her companions from an affront, she confessed herself guilty. Nicholas kicked her away with his foot, saying, "it was too late." Is not that a trait worthy of Caligula? In 1848, nations exclaimed to the Governments who wished to make them concessions, the words which have since become famous—"It is too late." But the Russian people took no part in those reprisals. It is needless to say that the young lady in question was expelled ignominiously from the institution.

At Moscow, Nicholas one day visited the hospitals. At the Mariensky Hospital, an invalid old man raised himself in his bed, and said—"Your Majesty, at last, must know how they treat us. The dying generally speak the truth, but Czars do not like to listen to it." "Speak, you rascal!" exclaimed Nicholas; "but if you are unlucky enough to utter a single word that does not prove to be true, I'll have you flogged to death." And there was an expression so Satanic in the look and gestures of the Autocrat, that the old

man lost the use of his speech ; he became pale, fell back upon his pallet, and never rose again.

And that is the man whom the Kings of Germany and the Ministers of England dread. "Tell me all the truth," said Nicholas to Mouravieff, in French, in 1825, at the close of the famous insurrection ; "tell me the whole truth, and I give you my word, as a Sovereign, that no harm shall happen to you for that." "You, my Sovereign !" answered the Republican colonel ; "the son of a bastard !" Nicholas revenged himself by a tremendous blow on the chest.

Some days afterwards, Mouravieff was hung twice, instead of once. The rope having broken in the first attempt, he rose, saying in French, "In this country they don't even know how to hang a man." Tutchkof, another conspirator, is called before the Czar, in the presence of the Grand Duke Michael. "Why should a constitution be necessary to you ?" Nicholas asked him. Tutchkof speaks, and, in listening to him, the Grand Duke Michael cries out, "His mouth must be closed with a bayonet." "It is in order that such things could not be said," replied the accused, "that a constitution is wanting."

In 1849, Kashkin, the son of an exile of 1825, concerned in the affair of Petroszewski, quite a young man, was ordered before the Czar. "You are young," Nicholas said to him ; "name me your accomplices, confess your fault, and I will forgive you." "I have the conviction," answered the young man, looking

fixedly on the Emperor, "that neither you nor yours will make Russia happy." Kashkin is a soldier at this moment.

But we shall be told things don't go on much better in Austria. How long has it been, however, that one tyrant has served as an excuse for another? And if humanity has more than one tyrant, has it not also more than one pen to blast them? But, as we stand alone at this time in making war upon the Czar, let us advance another step in the Black Sea of the hideous actions of Nicholas.

Count Tarnowski was involved in the law-suit of 1825, conducted to St. Petersburgh, and thrown into the dungeons of that city. Preparations were made for bringing him to judgment. As one of the members of the Tribunal Extraordinary forgot himself before him (an ex-colonel of the French Empire), he prayed the Grand Duke Michael to call the judge to order, which was done. But the affair was spun out to a considerable length. The Count wished to put an end to his days, and one day seized the hand of the barber who was shaving him, and opened his throat with the razor. He was cured of the wound, and, having now no weapon, dashed his head against his iron bedstead, until he fell senseless on the ground. From this new attempt at suicide he also escaped. At length, from the want of proofs against him, he was released, with the injunction to dwell upon his estate, which lay on the frontier of Galicia.

Some years later, the Czar had a rendezvous on that same frontier, with the Archduke Maximilian of Austria. General Bibikoff, the Governor of Volhynia, was unable to find a spot more suitable for the interview than the castle of Count Tarnowski, who consented to the arrangement, with the self-denial and the courtesy of a Polish gentleman, and made all the preparations necessary for a brilliant reception. The Archduke came first, and waited for the Emperor —who, however, having learnt the name of his host, declared that he would not dine with him, and for that purpose pointed out a farm to which the Archduke was invited to come. This farm was situate upon the land of the Count, who, at the request of Bibikoff, sent thither his livery servants, and the viands he had prepared for the occasion. The Czar found the wines excellent, inquired whence they came, and, in rising from table, gave 100 ducats to the Count's lackeys. Then, as the Archduke was entering his carriage, “Where are you going, at first?” the Czar asked him. “I am going to take leave of Count Tarnowski,” was the Archduke’s answer. “That is needless,” replied Nicholas; “go straight home.”

Are other proofs necessary to demonstrate that Russia is no more a monarchy than Persia was? It is the camp of a nomadic people, governed by a German who has made himself a Hun. Those who would revolutionise that country, according to the revolutionary routine of the West, do well to live in

the West. Beginning at the end is the best way not to arrive at a commencement. Those who inscribe upon their standards, "Equality, fraternity, or death," and have not even the prudence to hide that standard until liberty has been conquered, may be terrible subjects to deal with, but they will not bring about fraternity ; they will postpone liberty, and will neither give nor receive death..

People will remember that Nicholas, when at Varna, prudently kept his steamer out of the reach of the Turkish guns. Marshal Diebitch undertook the command, on condition that neither the Czar nor his brother should remain in Turkey. Since then Nicholas has yielded to the conviction that he is not able to conduct a war, and so he has contented himself with commanding at reviews, and this he does with delight and fanaticism. He identifies himself with such manœuvres so well that he takes them for actual engagements. He takes off his helmet once, and cries out, "Boys, God for us : into the fire !" Another time he gives his aide-de-camp an order to carry, and, forgetting that there was no danger, he says, "Fight your way through ; care not for your family, I will provide for them." Obliged to surrender Pittsburgh, he puts this clause in the capitulation, that "The winter palace and the Imperial family shall be preserved ; if not, he will fight to the last drop of his blood !! " He is never victorious, but always beaten. Last year he was surrounded by General

Rüdiger, and a division marched to cut off from him the last hamlet for his retreat. An aide-de-camp, and afterwards the Minister of War himself, come to the commander of this division, to persuade him not to perform this manœuvre ; but he says in reply, that he must obey his immediate chief. Then they address the same prayer to General Rüdiger. "I should like to save his Majesty," answered the old warrior, "but how is it to be managed. Now, my weakest point is here ; let the Emperor attack it—let him kill my artillerymen, and break through, I will do nothing to prevent it." It happened as he advised, and the Czar, full of joy, said, "Are not my riflemen a splendid idea ?" In every company, namely, eleven, carabiniers have been appointed, whose rifles reach to the distance of 1000 paces, in imitation of the Austrian infantry.

At night he gives orders that the alarm shall not be sounded before eight o'clock in the morning, yet to send him reports every hour. He wraps himself up in his cloak and slumbers. The General who has to send the reports has them all in readiness, and goes to bed, ordering a paper to be taken every hour from his table and carried to the Emperor.

Once the Czar killed a great many horses in searching for the enemy, whom he could not meet with. He calls the commander of the detachment, and says to him, "Why did I not see you—were you afraid ?" "I have neither cavalry nor artillery. I must keep

in the forest," answered the General. The Czar arrested him, and the General who succeeded him, in order to avoid the same fate, drove the division before the eyes of the Czar, suffered himself to be beaten, but escaped the anger of his Majesty. And such an Emperor is to conquer the world!

One evening, in the Empress's drawing-room, Nicholas opened her album, and stood looking at a drawing, lost in thought. His wife ventured to inquire as to the subject of his thoughts. The subject of the drawing was Godefroy de Bouillon at Jerusalem. "I like such an enterprise," said the Czar, "I understand the nature of so great a design. Yes, to go to war for the sake of an idea, to fire the nations of the world with enthusiastic ardour for it—that would please me." Everybody understood that the idea of the Czar was absolutism, but we hope that Europe will not become Cossack so soon.

It is not the Uralian mines nor the custom-houses, paralysed by a ridiculous prohibitive system, which bring the most money to the coffers of the Czar—it is the public-houses. The Czar is the monopolist of the manufacture and sale of brandy in the Russian empire, and as for the right of retailing it, he sells it for each province to the highest bidder. The Czar, therefore, ought to style himself the great publican of Russia. The poor peasantry of Russia are frequently without adequate clothing, and could scarcely be of any direct use to the Russian Government; but the

Czar finds a way to make them yield the means of enriching him. He intoxicates them—he poisons them with a disgusting liquor which no European would touch. There are very few Russian villages in which there are schools, but there is not a single one of any size which is without its drinking-house, and every drinking-house has for its master a *Zalovalnik*, or embracer, who embraced the cross in taking the oath of fidelity. Fortunately, the wholesale and retail dealers, to regain the large sums which they pay to the treasury, rob the people by adulterating the brandy with water, which diminishes the intensity of the poison, but increases the consumption and the expense of the poor peasant.

That is the way in which the Czar moralises and civilises his people. He addresses himself to the worst passion, keeps it alive, and excites it; and whereas in Sweden there are rigorous laws against drunkenness, and that we hardly ever meet a drunken man in the streets of the towns, or upon the roads in the country,—in Russia, on the contrary, in its capitals, a repulsive smell of brandy is everywhere exhaled, and the traveller is continually elbowed by drunken men. Those who are tolerably well off gladly substitute tea for the brandy. The merchants find a large consumption for it, but this tendency diminishes the income of the Czar, who resists the formation of temperance societies in his country.

“When King Augustus drank, Poland was drunk,”

but now Russia is drunk, and Nicholas only drinks a little sherry, or syrup of gooseberries. Do away with drunkenness in Russia, and the bandage will fall from her eyes, and she will then be able to see that instead of being ruled by a Romanof, she is only governed by a Holstein Gottorp. To give up the drinking-houses to the pillage of the people might be the means of causing an insurrection, but closing them would occasion a revolution.

THE PORTE AND THE RAYAS.

—Ne japsyn, Toptschi?
 —Ne japaïm, daghlara bakarym,
 —Ne var orada?
 —Orada Moskof sinori getscher!
 —Amma Shimdi Moskof gelmes
 —Ne bieleim?

THE Russian monk, Father Iacynth, who has passed the greatest part of his life at the Russian mission in Pekin, is so fond of China, that he has even lost all taste for the European manner of living and European comfort.

“How can you, in Pekin,” said a friend to him once, “walk always on foot in the dirt?”

“And your *droshki* (Russian carriages)” answered he, very coolly, “are the most unpleasant things I ever saw.”

Knowing a gentleman who was a renegade by conviction, and who also “preferred being circumcised by the Turks to being governed by the Austrians,” I asked him whether he really thought Islamism superior to Christianity?

“Of course,” replied he, “Islamism does not require impossibilities as the Christian faith does, which leads so to hypocrisy. The former then allows a man to have many wives.”

"Is not polygamy wrong?"

"It is much better than European ladies having many men. Only rich men have many wives in Turkey."

Then, beginning again, he said, "The Sultan Abdul-Medjid is the idol of his people. Turkey is not rich, but private persons have immense wealth in precious stones and metals; and if the Grand Seignior should demand sacrifices to be made, everybody would give all that he possessed. Turkey progresses with gigantic steps, so that you would not recognise her."

MARCELLUS, in his valuable work, *Souvenirs de l'Orient*, says that the Turks have been calumniated; but his friend and diplomatic superior, CHATEAU-BRIAND, has given a dreadful picture of the insecurity of property and person among them. BYRON may prize the Turkish sword; even Turkish tobacco is excellent; but the women enjoy in Turkey only a nominal freedom; watched by eunuchs, they contribute nothing to the progress of society. The condition of the women is always a criterion of the civilisation of a nation. BLANQUI, a French Conservative himself, in his *Voyage en Bulgarie*, demands a crusade in favour of humanity.

The Christians are called in Turkey *giaours*, dogs, and are hunted by dogs, which are considered as holy, and are also better treated than the Christians. We shall see that the history of the Christian nations

belonging to the Porte is nothing but the relation of their sufferings for their faith.

Deputies impaled, warriors beheaded, wives ravished, multitudes burnt,—such are the pictures of that history. CHERNI GEORGE rose in rebellion because his wife had been insulted by a Turk, and the Servian revolution became triumphant. The Bulgarian insurrection of 1841 sprang from a similar cause. In every Christian province, patriots obliged to become HYDUCS, robbers—and HYDUCS becoming national heroes!

Who does not know of the atrocities perpetrated by the Turks in Greece? Oh, you who did so much, and died so resolutely, for the Hellenic cause! are you already forgotten?

RESIGNATION! To this cowardly word the Slavonian priests and the Greek *papas* answer by pointing at it guns; and the pashas kick with their foot the passive Bulgarians, who bow down before them.

11,000,000 Christians will never bear to be subjects of a Musulman sultan, and will not long submit to 4,000,000 Musulmen!¹

According to the Turkish law, war against the infidels is holy, but the conversion of them by conviction is holy too. However, the sword has till now played a greater part than persuasion.

* M. Ubicini, in his *Lettres sur la Turquie*, gives the number of Musulmen as 4,550,000, Greeks 10,000,000, Catholics 640,000. There are only 1,000,000 real Greeks. The rest are Slavonians belonging to the Greek Church.

The reforms of the Porte are seen in the penal law of 1840, consisting of only fourteen articles. That law declares that the Grand Seignior, having solemnly engaged not to put anybody to death secretly or without trial, and not to appropriate to himself the property of others,—every Turk is obliged to do the same, under the penalty of death for the former offence, and of restitution of the property in the latter offence. Should the delinquent be a functionary, banishment is added.

Mahmud began the reform, Abdul Medjid continues it; and the Koran shows itself very elastic in the hands of its interpreters, the friends of progress; but, it will be, however, a difficult task to destroy the inhuman sentences of it.

The instruction of the nation could not, in this short time, produce any extraordinary results; but it will, in course of time, with the support of foreigners.

SERVIA.

Austria has not justified her name: instead of becoming an eastern empire, she has extended herself in Italy. She has not secured to herself the possession of the mouths of the Danube, and she has allowed Russian influence to supplant her own in Servia. No better proof of her decline. The oldest reigning house of Christendom has feared the youngest; the Habsburgs have bowed to the Holsteins.

There is only one way of explaining the false views that Austria has taken of her own interests. As she is a Catholic state, her attention has been called to Rome more than to Byzantium; whilst Constantinople remained the constant aim of the Russians, who acknowledge the Greek religion.

Joseph made common cause with Catherine against Turkey, in order, as he said, "To revenge mankind on those barbarians." Servian emigrants were formed into volunteer corps, and rendered good service in 1789. Austria took the Servian Patriarch under her protection, and occupied by her troops a great part of Servia, but by the treaty of Sistowa (4 Aug. 1791) restored it to the Turks.

After the peace of Tilsit, Austria, invited to participate in a division of the Ottoman empire, allowed Russia to take Moldavia and Wallachia, requiring for herself Silesia or Spain. She did not stipulate for an equivalent in Turkey.

Russia has always aimed at gaining the sympathies of the Servians, by sustaining their national power; and while England was opposed to the Servian constitution, and demanded an expansion of the rights of the Prince (believing that the Servians were a barbarous nation), Russia sustained the charter which was imposed on Milosh in 1838. Did she do this in order to weaken Servia?

The Servians have proved that they are worthy of freedom, by persevering in a most just and heroic

war against the Porte, ever since the end of the last century, and by succeeding in limiting the rights of their princes.

The emancipation of Servia was not obtained without the support of Russia. In the wars of 1806, 1808, 1809, Russian troops supported CHERNI GEORGE in the KRAINE, against the Turks. Obliged to abandon Servia in 1812, the Russians retired from Turkey, and the armies of Selim III invaded Servia. Cherni George, who from having been a Hyduc (robber) and swine-dealer—following that most profitable calling in Servia—was chosen commander-in-chief, and as such displayed the highest ability, now, after having proclaimed himself Sublime Prince, lost his courage, and fled to Austria. The cabinet of Vienna confined him at Gratz, but afterwards he went to Bessarabia.

The articles of the treaty of Bucharest relating to the rights of Servia were never fulfilled by the Turks, till Nicholas's *ultimatum* of 1826 was accepted.

The Convention of Ackerman, in execution of the treaty of Bucharest, assured to Servia religious freedom, the reduction of the taxes to a single one, an independent interior administration. Turks not belonging to the garrisons of the fortresses were not allowed to remain in Servia.

MILOSH OBRENOVICH, also formerly a herdsman, became the successor of Cherni George, and became another Mehemet Ali of Servia. His policy consisted in remaining on good terms with the Grand Seignior and

the pashas, but his rule was no better than the Turkish. He monopolised the trade in swine and salt, called no *skupchina* (diets) together, but improved the laws and the roads. He issued an *ustav* (charter) in 1835, but observed it no more than he afterwards did that of 1838, recognised by the European powers. He was deposed, and fled to Austria.

His first son, MILAN, died soon after his accession, and his second son, MICHAEL, led by his mother LUBITZA, met with the fate of his father.

Alexander Gregorowitch, whose father, Cherni George, was assassinated by order of Milosh when he came again to Servia, was, in 1843, proclaimed Sublime Prince.

The Porte was glad of that change, believing the Cherni more in her interest than the Obrenowich; and that is the reason why Russia supports Milosh, who wishes to unite the Turkish Servians with the Austrian in the Banat.

The Russian consuls Rudofenikin, Vortchenko, Mukhin, have been to the Servian princes in a relation similar to that of British governors to the Indian nabobs. Cherni George was promoted to a Russian lieutenant-generalship, and the Servian troops wore since then the Russian uniform. Yet the Russian Government is too despotical to be popular in that country.

Servia has about 1,000,000 inhabitants in 1800 villages and five or six towns and boroughs.

Belgrad, the chief town, as every Turkish town, is

neither handsome nor clean; and the traveller coming from Selim remarks the difference between the European and the Ottoman order of things.

BULGARIA.

It is a merit in VÉNÉLIN, a Russian historian, to have proved that Bulgarians are of Slavonian origin, and not, as people have supposed, and still suppose, of Finnish or Tahtar descent. The language that they speak is a pure Slavonian; and no intermixture with Slavonians, how great soever it may be, would produce such an effect.

The Bulgarians are less courageous than the Servians, not so clever as the Greeks, but more industrious than the Wallachians, who keep forty holidays in the year.

The Bulgarian girls are distinguished for their beauty, being of a real Slavonian type. Even the manner of dressing their hair, and of adorning it with flowers, is a Slavonian custom. They deserve also praise for their virtue; but how often have beauty and virtue faded away, the victims of Musulman oppressors!

The Greek faith was introduced into Bulgaria in the year 860. Kirill and Methodius, two Bulgarian monks, wrote the first Slavonian Bible, which, even now, is still used in Russia. People have believed till now that it was in the Bulgarian language, but it has just been proved that it is in the learned Slavo-

nian language, which was used in the Low-Empire, in the ninth century.*

From the Volga and the Ural the Bulgarians came to the Danube, and took possession of the Lower Mœsia. In the year 562 they were subdued by the Avarians, and remained under their yoke till 635, when KURVET, their prince, liberated them and conquered Albania. The new state was divided among his sons, and, in 1180, a part of it was subdued by the Hungarian King Bela III, who soon afterwards ceded it to Greece. From 1185 to 1390, the Bulgarians remained independent. The Bulgarian King SUSMAN was defeated and made prisoner by the Turks in 1392: since that time the country has been a Turkish province.

Servia is by nature strongly defended on every side, being bounded by the Danube on the Austrian frontier, and by the Balkan on the Turkish. This may explain the fact that the Servians have regained their liberty, while Bulgaria, which possesses three times as large a population, viz. 3,000,000, being, however, open on every side, has never offered a serious resistance to the Turks.

Bulgaria is a rich country, particularly in the southern part, where mulberry-trees are very numerous and thrive well. The Bulgarians are called the gardeners of Turkey; however, they cultivate only the most common vegetables. They excel in irrigations.

* TALVI. *Histor. View of the Lang. and Liter. of the Slav. Nations.* New York.

Trade is not of any importance, and no manufactures flourish, except those of silk scarfs, lace, and carpets.

Whilst Servia, Moldavia, and Wallachia are half-sovereign states, Bulgaria is a Turkish province. The principalities pay tribute to the Turks, but the provinces have no particular laws or administration.

In Nissa there is, at the entrance into the town, a pyramid of 30,000 Christian skulls (Servians), victims of the Turkish sword; and in Widdin, a gallows constantly standing before the windows of the Pasha calls to the minds of the inhabitants the obedience due to the Porte! 300,000 Bulgarians have accepted Islamism; death awaits those who might turn back again to their faith!

Russia has not been able till now to carry her intrigues as far as Bulgaria. Russian troops invaded the country in 1798, and in 1828. After the last war 30,000 Bulgarians went to Russia, and settled in the southern part; but they became so discontented with the Russian order of things, that they preferred going back again to Turkey!

BOSNIA.

Notwithstanding a community of blood and language found among the Slavonian people of Turkey, notwithstanding the sympathies which remain through the conversion of some of them to Islamism, the misfortunes of that race arise from their divisions and the

bad policy which have prevented them from co-operating together. Servia once extended her power over the Slavonian tribes and over Macedonia ; in the fourteenth century she formed an empire extending between the Black Sea and the Adriatic, under the Czar Dushan ; but the battle of Kossore-Pole, in 1389, dismantled the Servian empire.

It was divided and subdued by Janisaries and Spahis. In later times we see the Bosnians the worst enemies of the Servians. They invaded their country several times during the war of independence. No wonder that Cherni George refused, in his turn, to assist the Bosnians in their insurrection.

The dissension arises probably from the difference in religion. Great many Bosnians, during the dominion of the Hungarians, passed over from the Greek to the Latin Church. Under the rule of Turkey many of their nobility embraced Islamism, and played a great part even in the seraglio ; others of them became Protestants (*Patarenes*), a kind of Albigenses or Vaudois. Turkey, that has remained always indifferent to the divisions among Christians, has protected the Patarenes against the Pope.

However, Stephen, king of Bosnia, was obliged to expel them from Bosnia, and 40,000 of them went to Herzogovina.

The Bosnians have generally formed the best auxiliary troops in the Turkish army.

As a part of Bosnia may be considered HERZOGOVINA

Dukedom. This name came from the title of duke, which the Roman emperor, Frederick III, in 1440, gave the Prince of St. SABA.

MOLDO-WALLACHIA.

These two principalities have a population of 4,000,000, on a superficial extent of 2,034 square miles ; Moldavia is the smallest of them, and contains only 725 square miles with a population of 1,470,000, The inhabitants belong to the Greek Church, but are neither Greeks nor Slavonians by blood, but Dacians and Romans.

The entrance of the Russians into Wallachia and Moldavia has always been a calamity for the inhabitants, received by their sighs and followed by their tears, and which may be translated as meaning perpetual vexations, and unjustifiable extortions. Prince Gorchakoff may declare that all the rations and forage supplied to his troops shall be paid for ; but whoever knows the rapacity of Russian officials is well aware that money sticks to their fingers whenever it happens to come within their reach. The persons who supplied the army in 1828 are still waiting for their money, in spite of the numerous representations which have been made even in St. Petersburg itself. The remembrance of the Russian occupation at that period is still lively in the memory of the Moldo-Wallachians. Twelve thousand waggons were obliged, during seed time, to set out for Russia to obtain flour,

which, on its arrival, being found of bad quality, was thrown into the water !

For want of cattle, men were harnessed to the waggons, and the only answer they received to their complaints was, "The service must be done, and the order must be executed, no matter how;" and the Metropolitan of Jassy, Gregory, having frequently protested against these cruelties, was transported to Bessarabia. The country was unable to meet the wants of its guests ; and yet the Russian officers sold their rations and then extorted fresh ones. The occupation lasted until 1834 : it is true it was distinguished by the intelligent administration of General Kisseeleff, but when, on the representations of England, the principalities were evacuated, Prince Ghika was bidden by Kisseeleff himself to make him regretted ; the Russian Consul at Bucharest called himself the *administrator* ; he caused the Wallachian Assembly to meet at his residence, chided it, and appointed and removed the officers.

In 1848 the Russians arrived again; and when they entered Hungary the Wallachians were obliged to supply General Lüder's army with provisions and means of transport. The poor Wallachian peasants dragged themselves painfully along the roads, and when, on the renewed protests of England, the Russians evacuated the Principalities in 1850, they imposed a contribution of thirty-five million roubles banco on the people to defray the expenses of the

occupation—that is, a thousand roubles per soldier ; while a Russian serf only costs from three to four hundred roubles assignat ! At that very time Russia was opening negotiations with Turkey for the purchase of the Principalities. She was taking steps to make the people themselves pay the purchase money, after she had borrowed it from English bankers in London ! At the present moment, the negotiations not having succeeded, Russia again occupies Moldavia and Wallachia.

The Principalities are not Sovereign States it is true ; but Prince Bogdan, in 1513, promised obedience to Soliman, solely of his own free will. In 1583 the "presents" were converted into "tribute." Russia has only entered into a single treaty with the Principalities, that of 1711, which binds her not to interfere in their internal affairs. The treaties between Turkey and Russia cannot be of any effect to bind the Principalities.

The Emperor of Russia styles himself "a guarantee ;" but how does he guarantee the rights of the Principalities ? The H̄ospodars were formerly elected for life : he made them elective every seven years ; and to be able to upset them whenever he might think proper, he has caused the entire contribution to be payable to Turkey on the nomination of every new H̄ospodar. If the Assembly protests, it is dissolved, as in 1838.

If we want to know what will become of the Prin-

cipalities, under Russian domination, we have only to cast our eyes on Bessarabia, which, it is well known, is also peopled with Moldo-Wallachians. Russia desires to denationalise the country : she has proscribed the language and the press ; the wealthy and the nobles have been expatriated, and have gone to reside at Jassy. And yet Russia does not resist from carrying on a propaganda, and endeavours to persuade the people of Moldavia and Wallachia that they will gain a religious respect from being annexed to her. But in his note of August 1848, put forth to justify the Russian occupation, Count Nesselrode treated with contempt the *pretended nationality* of the Moldo-Wallachians, he himself being only a German, in the service of Russia.

If there be a wretched people, it is the Moldo-Wallachian people, partitioned into three, like Poland, and like Armenia. The Bukovina belongs to Austria, Bessarabia to Russia, and Moldavia and Wallachia to Turkey. The Russian spirit has already penetrated into the administration of the Principalities. The construction and repair of roads, the magazines of corn, the recruitment, and the law are only so many means of venality for the officials. The extraordinary taxes already exceed the legal obligations, the expenses exceed the receipts, and the Russian decorations and titles serve to foster servility. Prince Bibesco caused roads to be made to his pleasure palace, which, like the palace itself, were constructed by means of forced

labour (corvées). Each recruit costs his village nearly 2000 piastres. It is just to sympathise with Turkey, but it is also time to regulate the situation of the Principalities, and put a term to their sufferings. A voice tells us that the Pruth, so fatal to Peter the First, the founder of the Russian power, will remain the Russian frontier on the side of Turkey.

THE GREEKS.

While the Slavonians people Northern Turkey, the Greeks occupy the South of European Turkey, the islands and the shores of Asiatic Turkey.

Thessaly is quite a Greek country, and Macedonia is full of Greeks. If Athens is free, Mount Olympus, the Garden of the Muses, the native country of Achilles and Homer, still belong to the Musulmen. But the church of St. Sophia is of more importance to the modern Greek than the seat of his mythological gods, and it is still a mosque.

I am quite disposed to accept prescription in politics as in law; and the Turks have been for three centuries the possessors of the Greek empire. There is no eternity for nations; so the decline of the Low Empire has led to the Turkish conquest, just as the decline of the Porte may lead to another order of things. The Greeks have fought bravely for their freedom; they have succeeded in forming an independent kingdom: yet, in 1826, only 800,000

Greeks composed this state; a number since augmented to 1,200,000, 4,000,000 having been left out, of whom 1,000,000 belong to Europe.

The Greeks have often been reproached for their bad faith, their treachery. One part of this is an inheritance from the Low Empire; the other the produce of the Musulman oppression; and the third part is only finesse and adroitness.

The Greeks are the best sailors, engineers, merchants, and architects of Turkey, to whom she owes her principal buildings. The Armenians,* who are celebrated for their ability in banking matters and for their industry,† far exceed the Greeks in treachery, and even the Servians have nothing to envy them for.

The Greeks are, indeed, intermingled with Slavonians and Turks, particularly in Asiatic Turkey and in ALBANIA; the inhabitants of which, the *Arnauts*, are known for their warlike and savage spirit; but that is no reason for refusing them their rights and freedom: and the remembrance of Ali Pasha, who ruled over the Epirus with unparalleled barbarity is sufficient in itself to bring disgrace upon all pashas, so long as the Porte is not secured against such monsters gaining an independence of power.

* There are 2,400,000 Armenians in the Turkish Empire; 400,000 of them live in Europe.

† The *diligence* between Constantinople and Adrianople was established by an Armenian company, but did not succeed.

MONTENEGRO.

Montenegro is an independent state, under the protectorship of Austria and Russia, but being surrounded by the Turkish territory, and being a tool in the hands of Russia, it must naturally find a place here.

A Russian feels himself at home at Montenegro. The houses are built in the same way as the cabins of the Russian peasants ; the holy images are always to be seen in the corner of the rooms ; the host treats the Russian as a friend, with true ancient Slavonian hospitality, which goes even so far as the washing of his feet. Montenegrin women kiss the hand of the guest, and are kept in a state of inferiority, serfdom, and contempt, which, however, may be accounted an eastern rather than a Slavonic custom.

The portraits of the Russian Czars are held in almost the same veneration as the holy images, and are also kissed by this people—at the bottom, a very democratical people.

Montenegro was a part of Servia up to the year 1839, when the Czar Lazar was killed in the battle of Kossovo Pole, and his army defeated by the Turks. CHEBOWITCH, his relative, governed Montenegro after that time as a separated state ; and his descendants did also till the year 1516, when the Prince of Montenegro emigrated to Venice, and the country

has remained since then under the rule of *Vladiks*, or Metropolitans.

In 1712 the Montenegrians, in order to obtain the protection of the Czar, Peter I, declared themselves his subjects.

But the distance between Russia and this little state prevented the submission from being real; however, the Montenegrians consider the Russian Czar, "the White Czar," as their Lord and Master. When an impostor, STEPHEN MALI (the Little), a monk, who gave himself out for Peter III, came to Montenegro, he was accepted as the true emperor of Russia; and, notwithstanding the representations of Russia, ruled the country for four years, till, in the war with the Turks, having exhibited a want of courage, he was deposed, and died in a cloister. In the war of 1796, the Montenegrians made common cause with the Russian troops; they fought the French in 1806, with the assistance of the Russians who took Cattaro.

The dignity of the Vladiks, though elective, became hereditary in the family of Petrovich, since 1798, when Peter Petrovich in the battle then fought slaughtered 30,000 Turks.

Not one Slavonian people is so devoted to the Russians as the Montenegrines, but in reality they are republicans and socialists. The greatest equality prevails amongst them, and never could the Russians establish among their warriors any discipline or subordination. A Russian traveller, M. Chijof, told me, that on his visit to the vladika, letters were

brought and tea was served up. The postillion took tea with them.

Montenegro, termed in the Slavonian languages **CHERNEGORA** (Black Mountain), has an extent of eighty-five geographical square leagues, and a population of 120,000 souls in 100 villages. It is a patriarchal and military state, the Metropolitan being at the same time the spiritual and temporal chief. This little state sends 20,000 men into the field. When war is declared, after a general meeting, the warriors are called to arms throughout the country in these words, "*Kto jest viatis?*" (Who is a warrior?) They are the best sharpshooters in the world. They shoot generally stretched on the ground, and seldom does their ball miss its aim. They cut off the heads of the killed among the enemy, and carry them suspended on their necks.

The Montenegrans are not more tolerant to the Catholics than the Turks are to the Christians. They call Popery the dogs' faith (*psia vira*). Therefore, they have always been at war with the Venetians, and now they have a deep hatred to the Austrians.

Whilst there are Russian catechisms in Luthuania and Poland which teach the worship of the Czar, saying that Christ himself suffered death without rebelling against the Roman power, the Montenegrans teach, that God alone is to be adored, and that the White Czar* alone is to be obeyed.

* *White* means great, and *black* small in the Slavonic languages.

RUSSIA COMPARED WITH TURKEY.

THE Sultan is "the shadow of God," the Czar is called "God on earth;" each is all in all in his own country ; and czars, as sultans, have been killed or deposed.

Everybody in Turkey is intrusted with the care of watching the observance of the laws, and obedience is due to the cadies and other functionaries only when they are "in the right way." No interference in public affairs is allowed to a private individual in Russia, except by petition.

The Sultan, as the Czar, makes the laws; but the former must appear before the judge to give evidence, and must stand during the time. The Czar is above the law.

At the feast of BEIRAM the Vizier and the ministers are allowed to kiss the Sultan's slipper ; other high functionaries, his coat-laps or girdle. At the Easter feast the Czar kisses all the officers in his palace, who kiss the hand of the Empress.

There is no aristocracy or hereditary names in Turkey. There is nobility in Russia, but, as Paul I said to the French ambassador, "only those to whom the Czar speaks are great, and that only so long as he does speak to them."

The functionaries in both countries are the most influential men. The habits of peculation are equal ; Turkish justice is as venal as Russian.

Slavery in Turkey is neither so extensive nor so odious as that in Russia. In Turkey the beating of slaves is prohibited, nor do the Turks any longer consider women as without souls ; but in Russia the female serfs are not included in the number of serfs, who, in the enumeration of them, are called *souls*.

The trade of England with Turkey is to the value of £3,500,000, exclusive of the transit to Persia. The trade with Russia is of the value of £12,000,000, but England chiefly pays with money for Russian corn and tallow ; but now the Americans, who used to throw away all the fat and the bristles of their wild boars, preserve them, and send them to England, so that Russia may be deprived of this important branch of her trade.

Turkey has entered upon a reform, and nobody can say where it will stop. Russia remains the classical country of despotism and servitude.

We have been introduced to Nicholas. The Sultan Abdul Medjid deserves praise of everybody. He has not perhaps the Czar's energy, which in him serves only to selfishness and tyranny. The Sultan will hold a high rank in history ; Nicholas stands at the bar of mankind.

There is neither a Siberia nor a Caucasus in Turkey.

Poets and writers are not persecuted in Turkey: the learned are esteemed, and even the press is gaining ground.

TREATIES BETWEEN RUSSIA AND TURKEY.

The Ottoman empire had attained its apogee at the close of the seventeenth century. Transylvania, the Banat, the Ukraine, were in subjection to the Porte. At that time Russia was paying tribute to the Nogai Khans, who themselves were vassals of the Grand Turk. In 1683, the Turkish army besieged Vienna. John Sobieski saved the city. The Austrians routed the Turks at Mohacz, and at Lenka, and compelled Turkey to sign the treaty of Carlowitz on the 26th of January, 1699.. From that day dates the wane of the Ottoman power.

Till then Russia had on only two or three occasions sent ambassadors to Constantinople. One of these ambassadors was expelled the empire with disgrace, for having refused to conform to the Turkish etiquette of being held by the arm at an audience. Compare this affront with the attitude of Prince Menshikoff last March ! The Russians entered into the coalition against the Turks. They took Azof in 1696. That city and its territory were ceded to Russia by the *Treaty of CONSTANTINOPLE.*

The Treaty of FALSKIN, concluded July 21st, 1711, when Peter the Great found himself in a

disastrous strait at the Pruth, although purchased by Catherine I, a profound humiliation to Russia. Azof was to be surrendered: Taganrog Kamenoi-Faton, to be razed to the ground. Russia bound herself to withdraw her troops from Poland, and to cease her embassy to Constantinople. Unfavourable as the terms of this treaty were to Russia, Charles XII persuaded Turkey not to ratify it; and as Russia for her part showed no disposition to execute its provisions, the Russian hostages were thrown into the Seven Towers. On the 13th of June, 1713, a treaty was concluded at ADRIANOPEL, forbidding all access of the Black Sea to the Russians. The Treaty of CONSTANTINOPLE, of November 5, 1720, affirmed the abolition of the tribute (40,000 ducats) which the Czars were accustomed to pay to the Khans of the Crimea. Turkey alone of the European Powers proved herself jealous of the independence of Poland, and Art. XII of that treaty obliged the Czar not to intermeddle in the affairs of that kingdom. Art. XI released the Russian pilgrims going to Jerusalem from any tribute, and guaranteed them against any vexation. This was the first occasion of the two Powers entering into stipulations with regard to religious questions.

The *Treaty of BELGRAD*, of September 8, 1739, paralysed in some respects that of Carlowitz. Turkey obtained Servia. It was mutually stipulated that

neither Power should give asylum to refugees, excepting to renegades. Russia had obtained successes by her arms, while Austria was sustaining reverses. Yet the conditions of this treaty were not altogether advantageous to her. Art. IX bound the Russians to employ only Turkish vessels in the Black Sea. Art. II was the confirmation of Art. XI of the Treaty of Constantinople of 1720.

In 1786, the Russians having violated the Turkish territory in pursuit of Polish confederates, the Sultan, Mustapha, unfurled the *Sandjak Sherif* (Flag of the Prophet) in the streets of Constantinople. On this occasion many Christians were massacred without distinction of nationality, and no satisfaction was ever obtained for those acts of violence. The Russian Ambassador (M.. Obreskof) was cast into the Fort of the Seven Towers.

Catherine II sent a fleet to the Morea, which touched at England on its passage to the Mediterranean. The English only laughed at this fleet, as incapable of any service. Elphinstone, however, under the orders of Count Alexis Orlof (who was no sailor) attacked the Turkish fleet of twenty sail of the line with his nine Russian ships, on the 6th of July, 1770, and on the following day destroyed the enemy in the Bay of Tchesme. Then with nine ships he forced the passage of the Dardanelles, landed on the coast, and thus proved to the Turks the necessity of fortifying that passage more effectually; which the

Baron de Tott, an Austrian engineer, was immediately commissioned to accomplish.

The Tartars of the Crimea, ill-sustained by the Turks, and defeated by the Russians, separated from the Porte.

The victories of Roumianzof and of Souvorof annihilated the Turkish army, and the new Sultan, Abdul Hamid, concluded the peace of KUTCHUK-KAINARDJI in Bulgaria, on the 21st of July, 1774. *All anterior treaties were declared to be abolished.* If ever the protectors of the Porte should succeed in reducing Russia, no doubt they will not fail to imitate this precedent, and to abolish the treaty of Kaïnardji, which was fatal to the power of Turkey.

It opened the Dardanelles to Russia. (This condition indeed was subsequently extended to the commerce of all European nations). It confirmed the independence of the Crimea, allotted the two Kabardaha (in the Caucasus) to Russia, as well as Azof and its territory. Art. XIV permitted Russia to construct a church at Constantinople (in the street of Bey-Oglou, Galata quarter) besides the chapel of the Embassy. This was contrary to the Musulman law, which specially forbids non-Musulmans to build new places of worship, or to change the site of the old in cities where the external practices of Islamism are observed. Art. VII bound Turkey to protect the Christian religion, and gave to Russian Ambassadors authority to make *representations* on the subject to the Sublime

Porte. Art. VIII confirmed the rights of the Russian pilgrims.*

Turkey avenged herself for this treaty, which reduced her to a state of the second order, on England. She prohibited British imports by a firman of 1774, of which the preamble runs as follows :—

"Historians teach us that the Christians, an artful and enterprising sect, have, from the earliest ages, made use of treachery and violence to accomplish their ambitious designs."

By the *explanatory* Convention of 1779, signed at the demand of France, the protectorate of the Danubian Principalities devolved upon Russia.

The *Treaty of CONSTANTINOPLE*, of June 10, 1783, concluded also under the mediation of France, confirmed the rights of neutral flags, and the freedom of the seas. This was directed against the pretensions of England to naval supremacy.

Scarcely was this treaty of commerce signed ere the annexation of the Crimea to Russia was made public. The good understanding then existing between Russia and Austria induced France to content herself with the declaration that she was opposed to the entry of a Russian fleet into the Mediterranean.

Till the year 1786 French vessels entered the Black Sea under the Russian flag, while England had not even this concession from Russia. In that year, at the demand of Russia, the Divan opened the Black

* There were then about 2000 Russian pilgrims to the Holy Places annually.

Sea to the French flag. Austria had obtained that right in 1784.

At the instigation of England, Turkey took up arms again, but her fleet was destroyed at the mouth of the Dniester. Souvorof defeated the Turks at Rimnick, and took Ismail in spite of the boast that the Danube should flow back to its source, and heaven fall down to earth, before the Muscovites should enter Ismail. England, then, in consternation at the revolution which had broken out in France, persuaded the Porte to peace, which was concluded, January 9, 1792, at Jassy. Russia only kept the town of Oczakow, Austria having separated from her.

The *Treaty of BUCHAREST*, of May 28, 1812, gave to Russia Bessarabia, fixed the Pruth as the boundary of the two empires, and accorded to Russia the right of intervention in the affairs of Servia.

The *Convention of AKERMAN*, of September 25, 1826, determined more strictly the protectorate of Russia in the Principalities. The *Treaty of LONDON*, of July 6, 1827, between Russia, France, and England, assured the independence of Greece, and laid the first stone of the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire.

The *Treaty of ADRIANOPOLE*, of September 14, 1829, assigned to Russia the coast of the Black Sea, from

60 TREATIES BETWEEN RUSSIA AND TURKEY.

the mouth of the Kouban to the Fort St. Nicholas. Turkey acknowledged the independence of the Hellenes, and undertook to pay to Russia the sum of 11,500,000 ducats. Two pachaliks in Asia passed into the hands of Russia. A separate convention debarred Turkey from building any fort on the left bank of the Danube.

After the rebellion of the Pacha of Egypt, Russia concluded with Turkey, at UNKIAH SKELESSI, on June 26, 1833,* a defensive treaty, a secret article of which bound Turkey to close the Dardanelles to the other Powers in case of their being at war with Russia. This was to be in lieu of all material succour afforded by the Porte.

On July 15, 1840, Russia concluded in London a treaty with England, to the exclusion of France, a treaty which contributed not a little to the discredit and consequent downfall of Louis Philippe, while it increased Russian influence in the East. The treaty of July 13, 1841, re-established the inviolability of the Dardanelles, and thus annulled the secret article of the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi. The *Convention of BALTA-LIMAN* of April 19, 1849, stipulated the mode of election of the Hospodars, and the joint right of occupation in the Danubian Principalities.

* Old style, as we find it in the text of Russian Treaty.

ISLAMISM.

ISLAMISM has indeed many respectable features. The Mahomedans are more truly charitable than Christians. There are no miracles and no relics with them.

The Musulman faith has introduced equality into life, having abolished the Arabian castes, and the Sultan himself will stand in the mosque near a beggar, and in the midst of the common people. But belief cannot be judged of abstractedly, and everybody thinks his faith the best. How could we say then that mosques are better than churches, because they are more simple? The worshipper of holy images would look on us with contempt.

The Turk is a fatalist, and if he be a beggar, he remains one; thinking that he is destined to it, and that God has made him what he is, that every man is in the womb of his mother predestined to be happy or unhappy, being elected or reprobated.

While the Christian faith says: "Do not to another what you do not wish to be done to yourself," the Koran goes farther and says: "The best man is he who renders himself useful to his fellow creatures."

There is no division between the spiritual and temporal powers in Turkey, yet the organisation of the church is the greatest hindrance to reform and

progress. The Ulemas monopolise the university, and oppose civilisation.

The law of Mahomed did not allow of the monastic life, but Dervishes sprung up in Arabia, and extended through all the Ottoman Empire. They became so powerful, that even Sultan Mahmud who destroyed the Jannisaries was afraid of annihilating the Dervishes. The name for them signifies *beggars*, and the Dervishes are the most dangerous vagabonds. The howling dervishes are a disgraceful set.

The Koran recognises Christ as a prophet, born of the innocent Virgin Mary, but Mahomed, as the last prophet, is the greatest; and the seal of the prophets, as having closed the line. It teaches that Christ will come again, but only to convert all nations to Islamism.

The Patriarch of Constantinople is a dignitary of the Porte. He is attended by an escort, lives in a magnificent palace, has ecclesiastical preferments in his gift, but interferes very little with church doctrines. His power is no longer acknowledged in Servia, where nominations take place without him. He has nothing to do with Montenegro, where the *Vladika* is the spiritual head of the country, and instead of extending his power to Russia, the Patriarch loses it even in Greece.

Rayas means flocks, and even the Jews are better treated by the *Faithful* than the Turkish Christians are, but on no other ground than that of contempt.

They are not allowed to turn to Islamism all at once, but are obliged first to purify themselves by accepting the Christian faith, and professing it for several days. Remembrances of the past are still living in the minds of the Rayas, and keep up their hatred to the Musulmen ; so that the Princess Lubitza, the wife of Milosh, on the mere mention of the Turks, used to clench her fist and bare her brawny arms. Acts of injustice have not ceased.

In 1852, the Greek village PASHA KÖY, in Asiatic Turkey, was attacked by a band of robbers ; the inhabitants defending themselves, killed several Turkish brigands. The authorities, instead of prosecuting the malefactors, arrested eight of the Greeks, and imprisoned them as murderers of Musulmen.

Lord Stratford, on the 4th of July, 1853, wrote as follows : " I have frequently had occasion of late, and indeed for some years back, to bring to the knowledge of the Porte such atrocious instances of cruelty, rapine, and murder, as I have found, with extreme concern, in the consular reports, exhibiting generally the disturbed and misgoverned condition of many parts of Roumelia, and calling loudly for redress from the Imperial Government ; I will not say that my friendly and earnest representations have been entirely disregarded : but the evil has not been permanently removed, and the effect of every partial check has been of short duration. . . . Such is the magnitude of the evil, and such the danger of its extension under present

circumstances, that the necessity of checking its progress, and restoring some degree of confidence among the tributary classes, is scarcely subordinate to the duty of preparing the means of resistance against an invading foreign army.”

Earl Clarendon said, on the 24th of February : “Neither this country nor the other Christian Powers would properly fulfil the great duties now devolving on them, nor consult the interests of the Sultan himself, if they did not take this opportunity to secure equal rights and equal justice to the Christian population of Turkey, and so pave the way for that progress and prosperity which Christian civilisation will effect in that empire.”

THE RUSSIAN CHURCH.

The Lower Empire was already tottering to its fall when Russia borrowed from it her religious creed, not being able to foresee that, in inoculating her people with the forms of the Greek faith, she was only warming in her bosom the serpent destined to devour her. The dissensions about images, and the empty theological disputes in which the Greek Emperors played such foolish parts, together with the dissolute manners of the clergy, all went to contribute, in no slight degree, to the final fall of the Byzantine Empire. But the Greek faith sanctioned the marriage of priests and the use of wine ; it spoke to the senses through the pomp of its rites ; and it was for

that reason, through the will of one prince, the Grand Duke Vladimir, Russia embraced the Greek religion. At the command of that prince, the idols were thrown into the Dnieper, and the whole population of Kiev plunged into the river, in a body to be baptised. The Russians repudiated their old gods, and adopted a new one, at the bidding of a prince who was not yet Czar ! In Russia, idolatry of the Czar goes far beyond every other species of idolatry.

The old idols of the Russians became the images of the new faith, and they now adore their various saints, as before they worshipped their different gods. Job is their ancient Peroun, the god of thunder ; Yurri, the god of fire, became St. Nicholas, the patron saint of Russia. The adoration of images is next door to idolatry among the Russians, for they embrace them on the smallest occasion, prostrate themselves before them, offer wax candles to them ; or, if women, ribbons ; if soldiers, military medals. Relics, however, are objects of even higher worship, and the abuse to which the practice is carried is certainly far worse than anything to be found in the Church of Rome. The latter makes a regular trade of it ; and, if she invents martyrs as she wants them for sale, retail or wholesale, to the different countries who are her customers, the worst result is, only to make the early history of Christianity a perfect martyrology of Christians. Russia, on the contrary, is poor in martyrs—excepting those slain by the

Tartars or the Mongols ; and so, whenever the Government stands in need of a new manufactured saint, it has to resort to a different source. Thus, to enrich the province of Voronej, as well as to renew the memory of Peter I, Nicholas has made a saint of Mitrophanes !

The Russian Patriarchs have never assumed the consequence of the Popes. Having originally been subordinate to the Patriarch of Constantinople, they would never submit to the Czars, even in temporal matters ; and as the church under their orders thus formed a species of State within the State, Peter I abolished the Patriarchate, and replaced it by the Synod, which until the present reign was an institution of considerable importance. Nicholas, who is the soldier in everything, has given the Synod one of his generals for a president, who conducts the proceedings as he would drill a regiment. There is not much virtue in the Russian clergy, and their convents are only refuges for the lazy and ill-disposed, which might be converted into barracks without doing much harm ; but the head of the State and of the Church ought rather to purify their morals than try to coerce them by humiliation.

The instruction which the Russian priests receive in their seminaries is wholly insufficient. Latin is of no use to them, and it is only in practical life, and in intercourse with the nobles, that they ever learn anything. Even their theological studies have so little

solidity, that the most superficial Voltairean can discomfit them on the most essential questions.

Their pecuniary situation is the disgrace of the Russian Church. The priests have no salaries, and their parishes have to maintain them. The rural priests receive an allotment of land, which they cultivate themselves as well as they can. Very few landowners pay them a fixed sum. In the towns they collect what they can from the contributions of the pious, and the dues for the performance of the various holy offices—a state of things which, as may be readily imagined, gives rise to all sorts of mendicity, extortion, and petty cheating, which it would occupy us too long to detail now, but of which the reader may form an idea. Confession has become a ridiculous formality, which only serves to fill the plate always religiously placed beside the priest's chair. With the rich it is merely a bit of gossip, more or less agreeable, and in which the priest often contrives to glide in a word on behalf of his own interests, rendered the more needful, sometimes, by the cares of supporting a numerous family.

The Russian priest cannot marry a second time. St. Andrew says he is to have only one wife, and this passage has been interpreted to mean that he is forbidden to marry a widow, or to marry a second time himself.

What has been done to remedy this low state of education, and the precarious financial condition of

the Russian clergy ? By doing what was never done, either in the darkest or in the most dangerous times. Under Ivan the Terrible, at the time of the Polish invasion, and in 1812, the bells were taken from the churches to be cast into cannon. It was left for Nicholas to empty the treasuries of the churches ! At first, as is usual in such cases, a committee was formed for the purpose of providing for the support of the clergy ; from the Synod this committee passed under the presidency of General Protassoff, and the money of the Church, originally intended for the instruction and assistance of the clergy, passed into the coffers of the Czar. It served to defray the expenses of the visit of the Emperor and Empress to Sicily ! As an excuse for this measure, we are told that this money was lying idle in the Church chests, without usance and without interest. Does not this remind us of the arguments employed by robbers in certain cases ? The money in the Turkish mosques is also lying idle, but it will not be seized for the Sultan's travelling expenses, but to be employed in defending his people against the Russians.

If the Russo-Greek Church was tolerant under Catharine II, it has ceased to be so under Nicholas. He has forced the United Greeks to separate themselves from the Pope, and to re-enter the bosom of the Russian Church. In Poland he has erected a Russian altar by the side of every Catholic altar. The Armenians of the Gregorian sect are under process

of conversion. The Patriarch of Echmiadzin, by way of paying court to the Czar, has gradually obliterated, one after another, the differences that used to exist between the Greco-Russian form of worship and the Armenian. There is not a single sect, down even to the Lutheran peasants of Esthonia, that has not been tried to be converted to the Greek faith by the bait of grants of land and enlarged privileges. This bait has led to some ridiculous results in the Caucasus among the Ossetinians, who, receiving a shirt and a silver rouble for each conversion, have managed to get the reward three or four times over, by being converted over and over again, in different localities. The consequence is, that the official list of baptisms is greater than the whole number of inhabitants, which does not, however, prevent them from still belonging to their old faith. Not a single Ossetinian has ever been seen in the Christian church of Kasbek !

The children of mixed marriages in Russia follow the religion of the father if they are boys, of the mother if they are girls. This division continues thus in the family, unless it is set aside by some contrivance.

Prayers for the imperial family occupy two thirds of the time in the Russian ritual, and, though the statement may seem incredible to some, the Priest, when he divides the bread, blesses the offering in seven portions : the first of these is in honour of the

imperial family—Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the whole saintly hierarchy follow after.

The idolatry of the Czar, and I do assert it unequivocally, is carried in Russia further than the worship of God; and if I should be tempted to define an Englishman as “a constitutional animal,” and a Frenchman as a “monarchical animal,” I should be compelled to classify a Russian as a “despotic animal.”

As regards the fanaticism of the Russian, I do not believe in it. He observes fast days, he goes to Church, where he hears a mass, but he does not believe in the priest, whose hand he finds so often in his pocket. The noble himself is a Voltairean and an unbeliever. As to the Russian soldier, he dies, pressing the cross which is suspended from his neck to his expiring lips; but he fights only because he has a taste for a military life, and therefore does not much care, when once in for it, how or when it ends; and to the priest, who says to him, “My children, you suffer here, but in another world the nobles will burn on a huge pile of fire, and you will have to throw on the fagots,” he replies—“We shall be sent a long way, then, to fetch the wood.”

In the time of Luther they believed that the Turks were about to overrun the world: now they believe that the Russians have the same destiny. The Turks are in *articulo mortis*, and if the Russians do not infuse more intelligence into their administration of

affairs, mere fanaticism for the Czar will not suffice to subjugate the world ; and unless they extend themselves by conquest they will grow weaker and weaker.

REFORM OF TURKEY.

RUSSIA, seeing that Turkey will by her regeneration escape her claws, makes haste to strike the last blow.

The note of Pozzo di Borgo, dated November, 1828, avowed that the regular corps formed in Turkey just before that time were a sufficient reason for Russia to take up arms, in order to overthrow a barrier already great enough.

The official Russian organ is more expressive. The *St. Petersburg Journal* of 2d. March, says :— “ Since the year 1829, His Majesty followed with great attention the march of events in Turkey. The Emperor could not shut his eyes to the consequences of the changes which were, one after the other, introduced into that state. Ancient Turkey disappeared from the time when it was opposed as well to the genius of Islamism as to the character and usages of the Musulmen— institutions more or less borrowed from modern liberalism, and consequently entirely opposite to the spirit of the Ottoman Government. It became evident that Turkey was undergoing a complete transformation, and that these experiments, at least doubtful so far as regarded the recognition of the empire, seemed rather calculated to lead to a crisis which would overturn it. It seemed likely that a new order of things would arise which,

although indefinable, would at all events destroy that which existed."

In 1843, the Turkish army was completely reformed. The duration of the service, instead of being for life, was reduced to five years' active, and seven years' reserve service.

The expense of the army amounts to £2,790,000. The artillery have been instructed by Prussians, the infantry and cavalry have been organised after French models. The want of good officers is still perceptible.

All the land is the property of the State. The Rayas have also the right to possess land, paying taxes which differ according to the provinces. An agricultural school at AYMAMA, was established in 1846.* yet agriculture is in an infant state, thanks to the want of knowledge, capital, hands, and means of communication. The roads are in so bad a state that people require from six to eight days to go from Adrianople to Constantinople.

Manufactures are on the decline. "Diarbessir and Brussa," says Uobicini, the panegyrist of Turkey, "so celebrated for their velvet, satin, and silk stuffs, do not produce the tenth part that they did, thirty or forty years ago." The reform that introduced European clothes contributed no little to this effect. However, it has rendered the manufacture of *fez* (Musulman caps) very extensive.

* A Polish colony in ADAM-RENI was founded by Prince Czartoryski with 200 men who had been prisoners on the Caucasus, and had been sold by the Russians to the Turks.

The reform has not reached the Rayas. People demand, that they should be included in the Turkish army; it was so at the time of the Jannisaries, who were composed of young men given by the Christian provinces as a tribute, and converted to Islamism as soon as they arrived. At that time the Turkish army was 400,000 men strong, and now it is only half that number. But the Christians are not anxious at all to fight under the crescent, or to become soldiers, but wish that the Turks were not garrisoned in their fortresses.

Admission of the Rayas into the civil offices is also required, and will of course prove beneficial even to the Porte.

The hatti-sherif of GULKHANE, this Magna Charta of Turkey, granted equality of rights to all Turkish subjects, without distinction of faith, but it has not been observed, like many other constitutions. Several firmans since then, acknowledging the non-observance of the hatti-sherif, have promised better things.*

But the reform will only prove a real one by embracing the conduct of the Turkish pashas, whom the abolition of the silk cord and of the confiscation has rendered less circumspect, and by modifying the spirit of the Koran itself. Yet the hatti-sherif of

* Among others, the firman of the nomination of Reshid Pasha, Sept. 1846, said, "they have not shown the care and the zeal which the execution of this measure required."

Gulkhane said : "an empire loses all stability by not observing the laws." It means the divine laws, but we would add also the political laws.

There are one million and a half of servants in Turkey ; in Constantinople alone, there are 50,000 slaves, and 40,000 servants. How many useless hands !

There is no deliverance for Turkey but by extending the reform: but if this lead to a kind of constitution ; if the representative system make its way into Turkey, the majority being Christians, they will of course vote against Islamism. To reconcile the two faiths, to prevent reprisals will be a difficult task. Turkish justice will for a long time have two weights and two measures, according to the two beliefs. It is allowed Christians to be evidence at the Turkish court, but they are not accepted, and a Musulman thinks himself dishonoured by giving testimony for a Raya.

Constantinople has already witnessed many changes of worship. Paganism was destroyed by Christianity, which, in its turn, was annihilated by Islamism ; and perhaps some new creed will succeed.

RUSSIAN SERFDOM AND COMMUNISM.

The Russian serfs are, strictly speaking, slaves. They are not only bound to the soil, *glebae adscripti*, but to the owner. Boris Godunof attached them to

the land, and Peter I bound them to the proprietors. The landlord can, at pleasure, use his slave as his servant, or compel him to become a soldier; or he can send him to Siberia, by paying only the transport costs. They do not estimate an estate in Russia by the value of the soil, but by the number of souls upon it, in which number the women are not comprised: so that when a Russian nobleman says he has 1,000 souls, he has in fact, about 2,000, and when the Russian statisticians reckon 12,000,000 serfs, they speak only of the male population. Hence, we may more than double that number. It is under the outrageous denomination *souls* that the serfs are purchased or sold. If a nobleman is in want of money, he lets out his slaves to the government in the same manner as a stable-keeper does his horses; and in case of not repaying, the government sell those unfortunate souls *by auction!*

M. Togoborski, who has received a ribbon for his work,* assures us that half the Russian peasants being free, we ought not to attribute to slavery the precarious state of Russian agriculture. But he counts as free peasants the serfs of the Imperial family. They pay a rent, as the greater part of the private slaves do. To become citizens, they must pay a tax of 600 silver roubles, an exorbitant sum, and six times more than the value of a serf. † So there are

* *Etudes sur les forces productives de la Russie.*

† Whilst the price of an American slave is 800 dollars, or £160,

700,000 males or 1,400,000 souls to add to the number of serfs. The peasants who conduct the mail (*iamschiki*) and those who have the care of the forest must also be counted among them. Properly speaking, there are only 72,000 free peasants, and the number cannot be increased, for the serfs who are emancipated by their masters do not become free farmers, but state-peasants. However, since Alexander has prohibited the making presents of serfs, their number does not increase, except by birth or abuses.

More than half the landlords (to the number of 58,457) have not so many as twenty peasants each. This is a very great evil, because the smaller the slaveholder the worse the condition of the slaves, their master requiring of them more than a larger would. The *odnodwortzi*, or the owners of single families of slaves, have been abolished, and a *minimum* of serf-possession is highly necessary.

According to official reports, from sixty-nine to seventy-three noblemen are yearly killed in Russia by their serfs. This says more than any thing for the necessity of abolishing slavery, and plainly proves that the serfs are capable of feeling their galling chains.

In the year 1840, there was in the *governments* (counties) of Simbirsk and Saratov a systematical murdering of the masters. Krotkof was burnt by his the price of a Russian serf with the ground belonging to him is £15. He is let out for £10 or £12.

serfs ; * Toporin killed. Gornostaieff, in the government of Kalouga, who used to fasten his serfs to the plough, was shot by a fugitive recruit. The chamberlain Basilevsky was, in 1850, flogged by his slaves.

One of the best Russian romances is Gogol's *Dead Souls*. I had an opportunity of reading the second volume in manuscript, which has not yet been published ; and I must confess that the author has highly displayed in it his comic talent. The hero of the romance purchases dead peasants—that is such as had not been struck out of the census as dead—which he does in order to let them out, and so he succeeds in making a large fortune, and in escaping with his money to a foreign country. The tale is borrowed from a real fact.

The lives of the Russian slaves abound in dreadful fictions. What can be imagined more atrocious than what the Princess Soltykof did, at the time of Catherine II, who when she was pregnant, used to eat the breasts of her female serfs. She was brought, like Pugacheff, in an iron cage to St. Petersburg.

There is no lack of projects for emancipation. Many of them have been analysed by me in several works.† Therefore I will mention here but one

* See 'The Russian Sketch Book,' by Ivan Golovin, vol. ii, The Rebellion of Peasants, where Krotkof is called Jestokof.

† Beginning with the *Spirit of Political Economy*, and ending with *Revolutionary Europe*.

more. "The Council of Guardians" at the orphan house, who have a monopoly of loans made on serfs, accumulated great sums, some of which were violently seized by the Czar, for the fresh war in Turkey, or employed for other purposes not relating to serfs. These funds may in future be consecrated for emancipation.

An astonishing thing it is indeed, that besides slavery, we find in Russia communism, a relic of patriarchal times. The state-peasants are accustomed every census to share the soil among their families in plots, either of equal extent or equal value.

A reserve is kept to be portioned out among the more numerous families. Even the private serfs manage their land in the same way.

Communism is the tomb of liberty and individuality,* the cradle of autocracy, but a guarantee against pauperism, and the cause of fraternity and equality. Besides it impedes the progress of agriculture and the increase of wealth.

The communes have been unable to unite with one another; and so they have allowed absolutism to get the upper hand, and even to enslave a great part of them. Would they be suffered by the czars if they were a means of revolution?

Communism exists, however, among the Slavonian nations of Turkey. It does not undermine the

* Russian history does not offer any individualities at all, but those of Pugachev, Minin, and Peter the Great.

democracy of Montenegro. In Servia the land is cultivated in common, and the produce divided into equal shares. In Bulgaria the tax per head (Sharadsh), or an impost paid for protection, is distributed by the commune, according to the means of every peasant.

CANING AND WHIPPING.

THE "AURORA."

If the conduct of the Russian frigate Aurora may be taken as a criterion of the merit of the Russian fleet, no fear can be entertained for it. It sailed last autumn from Cronstadt, bound for the Black Sea ; her crew being composed of volunteers from the Baltic fleet. Though their Russian charts were taken for the Baltic in Petersburg, and afterwards Prussian in Prussia, an English pilot conducted the ship, and the Russian captain remained quiet in his cabin, leaving the command to the English officer ; but as soon as he had gone on shore, having business on the Prussian coast, the Russian officers being drunk ran the frigate on a bank ! Two Prussian steamers were hardly able to draw it out of the sand where it had sunk so deep, that the boards of the keel split into pieces. The Russian captain wrote to his Admiralty that he had discovered a bank, and he received as an answer, that that bank was a part of the Prussian shore !

The British pilot returned, and the Aurora proceeded on her passage, but leaked so much that the crew could scarcely pump it out. The officers were

constantly beating the poor sailors, without any reason, as is usually done in the Russian navy, and the English pilot repeatedly expressed his contempt at such proceeding, and his concern for the poor sailors, as well as he could, in broken Russian.

In the North Sea a dreadful storm arose ; the brig manned with thirty-eight men, which accompanied the frigate, sank, and so great was the consternation among the officers of the *Aurora*, that they became very kind to the sailors, gave them as much brandy as they liked, and, far from beating them, begged them to mount the mast, to see what ground of hope there was ?

Once at Portsmouth, the frigate was undergoing repairs, the crew having been transferred on board an English vessel, where the bad treatment was resumed. Many sailors deserted them, but by the assistance of the English police, the Russian officers brought them back again. The English police showed themselves more inhuman even than the Prussian, who only deliver up Russian deserters with caution, knowing that they will have to suffer a punishment worse than death.

DESERTERS.

I have frequently been visited of late in London by Russian deserters. I do not like deserters, and am always unfriendly to them, regarding them as fellows

destitute of courage, and unfaithful to their standard.

"But, Sir," said one of them to me, "I could no longer endure bad treatment : the cane one day, a whip the next day, and a rope's-end the third day, do not put one in a very good humour, with nothing to hope for ;—and twenty-five years of suffering to look forward to is too much."

"But what ! you are not beaten till after you have been tried ?"

"Tried," said he, laughing, "the officers beat us at pleasure, even without asking permission of the captain."

"Courage," answered I, "now you are in a free country, where nobody can beat you, where labour is paid for. By working you will be better off than your officers and noblemen would be, who do not know how to do anything."

"Without knowing the language what am I to turn to ?"

He was a sailor, and some weeks afterwards, he was engaged on board a very celebrated merchantman. His astonishment at being well kept, well paid, and at not being beaten, was very great ; but his own stupidity, and the bad advice of others, caused him to quit the ship.

Another time, there came to me a young Jew. I do not like Jews at all, since I have witnessed in them many signs of a bad disposition. There are among them indeed distinguished artists, but very few

gentlemen ; and they who had a place in Vernet's pictures do not need one in Parliament.

The young man in question was very weak and slender, and there was an expression of honesty in his features. He came from the farthest extremity of the East of Russia, had been ten years a soldier's boy, and two years a soldier. I never was of the opinion of some converted Jews, who think that the Czar does right to persecute the Jews, to prohibit their Asiatic costume, to cut off their beards and locks, imposing Western habits upon them by force. Russia does not need Jews for soldiers.

The deserter told me, however, that he was a Christian.

"Why then do you not go to the Russian Priest?"

"I have been to him."

"Well?"

"He treated me very ill. He told me that God would never bless those who did not serve the Czar. He added, that he could do nothing for me, that I might go to the Sultan. I don't know what will become of me. I regret that I deserted, and should be glad to go back, but I am afraid of being flogged. I could not support more than 800 lashes."

"Might you get more?"

"In the interior, the deserter sometimes gets only 500 lashes, but in that part of the country which is on a war-footing, 3000, the legal number. When going through Kovno, I heard of a poor deserter who had suffered dreadfully."

"And have you yourself been beaten often?"

"I have often received 20 blows, sometimes 50, once 150 and once 300."

"Why 300?"

"I was a tailor, and a Finnish boy was put into our workshop; six weeks after, the captain came, spoke with him, and he could not answer in Russian. The captain ordered them to give me 300 lashes, and I remained three weeks in the lazaretto."

For a Jew to be punished for not teaching a Finlander Russian, seems to me too much of a good thing. 300 blows! Might not the captain have ordered 30 as well?

"Captain —," began the young man again, "is very cruel, and so is General A—— too, so much so that three soldiers' boys hanged themselves."

"How many are there of them?" "In Kazan, 4000, almost exclusively Jews."

"Are you then the son of a soldier?"

"No, Sir, but Jews' children are also enrolled."

The young man spoke German, and in a few weeks he understood English.

"You may go to the Jews," said I to him once.

"They would do nothing for a baptized Jew."

"Do then as they do."

"They are sharers, I should not like to deceive people."

"But they engage also in trade."

"Yes, when they have money; I should also make my way with a few sovereigns."

He has kept his word, and has now no need to be anxious.

But what a country is that, where the cane and the whip are in constant use ! what an army is that which receives every hour millions of lashes !

"What, pray," said I once to a Russian soldier, "tell me, do you fear the cane more than a cannon ball?"

"Of course, I do Sir, the ball kills at once, there's an end of one's sufferings, but the cane lacerates and disgraces one. To be treated as a criminal for the slightest fault is dreadful."

Deserters are indeed severely treated in every country, but in not one is there so much reason for the soldier's deserting as in Russia !

Whips are of Austrian origin, and are called in German *Spitzruthen* ; also the *knout* is of the same extraction (*knoten*), but the cane plays in Russia a greater part now than the knout, which is equivalent to what the punishment of death is in other countries, a punishment no longer existing in Russia.*

I can boldly say, that there is not a single Russian soldier who has not been beaten, if not for his own faults, at least for those of others. "He is not a soldier, as I have heard say, who has not been beaten. The Russian soldier likes those who beat him, and

* The knout is not a mile long, as is to be seen in a drawing made for the use of the readers (*The Knout and the Russians*), but it is short, and it is that which makes it so powerful.

does not respect those who never use the cane." They are the good subjects who never desert. But the number of Russian deserters in Memel and Brody amount to 30,000 men. The Jews who inform against a deserter receive a reward of eight silver rubels.

In the cavalry, blows are sometimes given with the back of the sword, called in Russia by the German word *fuchtel*.

There are indeed a great many rogues amongst Russian deserters, but I ask whether it is not in consequence of the Russian system of holding the people in so strictly, that once in the enjoyment of freedom, they abuse it.

But excessive flogging extends even to the children of nobles, to military students. The son of General Danilevski, when he was about to be flogged, in order to escape such humiliation, opened the window, and threatened to jump down into the street, if they touched him. He kept his word, and was dashed on the pavement. This event caused consternation in the metropolis. A single man remained unmoved, and that was the father of the victim.

RUSSIA'S NATIONS.

THE COSSACKS.

As the primitive distinctive type of the Cossack is becoming daily more scarce, and as the inhabitants of Western Europe are imbued with many misconceptions respecting his social and general condition, it may be well to furnish some authentic information upon a state of things which is fast passing away.

The Cossack of the present day is, with few exceptions, either a labourer or a soldier. Not many original Cossacks are now to be found in Ukraine. The "Zaparogs" are almost extinct, and the Cossacks of the Don have in great measure lost their original characteristics. We have, therefore, to refer to by-gone periods for the genuine personification of the Cossack. His history is contained in the tales and traditions which are still current amongst the people, and his character and habits may be traced in the popular songs, which are amongst the few things that have undergone but slight modification.

There are (or rather were) two distinct orders of Cossack —viz., those of Little Russia and those of Great Russia. The remnant of the Zaparogs re-

present the former, the Cossacks of the Don represent the latter. Both are entirely distinct from the Khosars, a savage people, who inhabited the south of Russia during the earlier periods of its history, and to whom some writers have erroneously ascribed their origin. I shall, in the first place, say a few words respecting the race or nation of the Zaparogs.

Escaping the yoke of the Tahtars, the Russians of Kiovie descended the Dnieper, and established themselves behind the cataracts of that river, whence their name, "Zaparog," from *za* (behind), and *porog* (cataract). The form of their government was democratic, as, in the primitive stages of society, was that of all the Slavonians. They were freemen, and their governors, elected by themselves, were only acknowledged as their equals. The chiefs were elected at general or special assemblies, which were invariably turbulent and "uproarious" to a degree. This savage kind of liberty was evidently inconsistent with order and with the organisation of a civilised community. The regular settlement of the Cossacks of Little Russia dates from the 16th century. Stephen Batori established them in Ukraine, and acknowledged their rights. Their existence as a separate people may be said to have ceased with the independence of Little Russia.

War was their chief occupation, their habitual and favourite pastime. They devastated the Taurid and

the coasts of the Black Sea. The Zaparogs, crossing in their boats, pushing boldly forward, spread carnage and desolation as far as the walls of Trebizond and Bender ; and Jassy, the capital of Moldavia, was taken by the Cossacks of the Ukraine. Under Nalivaiko they ravaged Mohilew from one end to the other. The Poles dreaded them, and the Turks and Tahtars regarded them with equal terror. If the Tahtars occasionally made incursions, and committed excesses, their cruelties were returned with fearful interest on the Cossacks. Serboulat, Kozlov and Kaffa were desolated by them. Almost constant warfare was maintained against the Poles ; and the disorders in the government of Moldavia held out to the Cossacks a temptation too powerful to be resisted. The Turkish dominions were from time to time invaded, on pretence of delivering Christian prisoners and chastising the infidels, but in reality with the object of obtaining spoil. The Cossack horseman gained frequent victories over both Turks and Tahtars. The mutual provocations and challenges which occurred during these hostilities remind one of the vain-glorious style of defiance recounted of the Greek and Trojan heroes in the *Iliad* :—“ We will beat down your arrows with our whips,” cried the Cossacks to the Tahtars, “ throw the slip-knot around you, and carry you off to behold us making merry with your wealth.” Insults were offered wantonly, and when the Cossacks besieged a town, whether Polish or Turkish, the beleaguered

garrison were reviled with the most galling epithets of scorn and derision.

The Cossacks were not more distinguished by courage than by subtlety and ingenuity in their hostilities. Many a town has been taken by means of unsuspected traitors within the walls; many a surprise effected by false demonstrations, disguised attacks, and other stratagems, which exhibited their natural aptitude for war. But with whomsoever they were engaged, the war was usually marked on both sides by incredible cruelty and ferocity; quarter was seldom given, and when life was spared it was only to prolong the miseries of the captive. The sufferings endured by the Russo-Cossack prisoners on the Turkish pontoons are to this day commemorated in the national songs. The famous Dmitri Baïda was only one amongst thousands of more obscure prisoners whose death was that of hanging by a hook thrust into their bodies. The Cossacks, on returning from an expedition against the Tahtars, would tell their hetman, in a song: "We have sent so many infidels to —, and taken their riches; the skin of every sheep, and some few skins of the infidels themselves." Their wars were supported, and themselves enriched, by pillage. The son, asking his mother's permission to set forth against the Tahtars, would promise her "dresses embroidered with gold and silver, and amongst them that of the khan himself." Faith pledged to the enemy, truces or treaties of peace, were

usually disregarded in their wars, and by the Poles as much as by the Cossacks and Tahtars; and history furnishes numerous examples of the most flagrant violation of covenants. But, wholly faithless as they were to the enemy, there was a strong—indeed, a fanatical—spirit of religion amongst the Cossacks of Little Russia; and this sentiment sometimes proved the effectual bulwark of their independence. Whilst committing unheard-of atrocities upon others, they call their own country the Christian country, and themselves the holy people. If, on being made prisoners, their lives were spared, the bitterness of slavery arose not so much from the severities inflicted on them, as from the fact that they had no one to converse with about the Christian faith. Baïda refuses the daughter of the Sultan, and the (promised) dominion over the Ukraine, because the condition is that he should abjure his faith. “Thine offer is fair,” says he, “but thy religion is infamous.” Many legends of this kind are, of course, apocryphal; but there is no doubt that the Cossacks displayed remarkable fortitude and fidelity in adhering to their religion under the most trying circumstances. When setting out on a journey (no matter how sinister its object might be), the Cossack never omitted addressing a prayer to heaven; and before mounting on horseback he always made the sign of the cross. His successes he attributed to his prayers—his failures to his sins. At the prayer of Serpiaga (Podkova), says the tradi-

tion, the tempest was calmed, and the Turks routed ; whilst Kanovtschenko perished, because he had gone into the battle inebriated. Thus strangely was religion intermixed with superstition and ferocity.

Fame and glory found a ready echo in the heart of the Cossack. The songs of the *bandurist* (minstrel) would generally have some such chorus as this :—“ His glory shall resound amongst friends, enemies, knights, and brave men ; his glory shall never die.” And a national melody declares :—“ Even when the Zaparogs have departed, their glory shall not perish ; the fame and bravery of the Cossacks shall live for ever.” No Cossack would dare evade the call to arms : if he did so, he would receive some opprobrious epithet sure to follow him through life. Even if his mother tried to hide him, he must break the doors during her absence at devotion, and proceed to the war. If he had no horse, he must walk. If his mother cursed him, he still must go, though he should perish without her blessing. The Cossacks formerly considered flight, under any circumstances, a disgrace ; and the indispensable mark of a true warrior was to choose death rather than sacrifice glory. In time of war, discipline and subordination were maintained by rigorous penalties ; and even those who permitted their horses to be stolen were imprisoned. When a grave crime was committed, the culprit was tied to the halberds, severely flogged, and sometimes even impaled. Treason was punished by a cruel death, and every one

uttered anathemas on the traitor's grave. Impelled by religion, the fighting men would "rise unanimously in defence of the Christian faith, and go forth to win knights' honours." Another favourite arming cry was, "The defence of Ukraine!" The whole country mourned the death of a brave Cossack, and masses were celebrated everywhere for the souls of chiefs who died in battle.

Passionate attachment to home and fatherland was another characteristic. On leaving his country, the Cossack bade adieu to all his neighbours, and taking a handful of earth, attached it, by a little bag or otherwise, to the cross which, even to this day, almost every Russian carries in his bosom. "Grief," the song says, "is gnawing at his heart; he bends his head towards the pommel of his saddle, as the beach-tree droops to the water; his heart mourns like a root submerged 'neath the waters; and his tears burst forth, in spite of his manly will." When he passes the boundaries of his native land, his heart becomes still more oppressed: "Wherever he directs his gaze, strange objects fill him with sorrow, and his dark steed groans under him. There is no one to bear his salutations to Ukraine. He begs the wind to blow towards him from his country, but the wind is deaf to his prayer. He implores a rook to bear thither his salutations, but the bird passes by unheeding, and no tidings come from home. The nightingale whistles. 'Little bird,' says he, 'thou hast a

shrill and piercing voice. I am in a strange country ; tell me shall I again see my own.' " Another song represents a Cossack as a falcon in a foreign land, or mountain. If he rests on a sapling, the wind breaks the branch. " Bend not sapling ; too much evil have I already to endure ! " Should he eat the fruit of the service-tree (a favourite food of the falcon), an eagle asks him how he likes it. " Oh ! brother," replies the falcon, " it is as bitter as a foreign land!"

Whence comes this profound grief ? How is it that this ferocious warrior,— " who covers the fields with dead bodies, who has nourished the ravens and wolves grown hoary in consuming the corpses of the foe,"— is so sensitive at the thought of absence from his country ? It is that no one loves his home, mother, sister, or betrothed like the Cossack of Ukraine. " His mother's prayer bears his soul from the floating wreck, assists him in battle, redeems his soul from sin, and accompanies it to the celestial kingdoms. His wife is to him his dove, his darling, and his well-beloved."

" The Cossacks (pursues the song) sound the midnight alarm. The bright eyes of Marussenko * are filled with tears. Weep not, dearest ; grieve not. Pray to heaven for thy beloved. The moon is above the mountains ; the sun has not risen ; the mother, all in tears, bears her son company. ' Farewell, dear son ; be watchful. In a month return to thy home.'

* Mary.

‘ Gladly, mother, would I return sooner, but that my jet-black steed stumbled at the door.* Heaven knows when I may return, or if ever. Watch over my betrothed, and adopt her, dear mother, as thine own child. We all are subject to the will of God. He alone knows whether I shall return alive, or sleep for ever on the battle-field.’ ”

There are several passages, affecting from their simple pathos, in the celebrated song, *Todi mene, moia mila, jdati, pidjidati* :—“ When thou shalt await me, dearest one, my black horse shall not bring me ; the fitful wind shall waft my ashes with it. Ask, then, of the raging wind, ‘ where is the young Cossack ? ’ Alas ! he lies dead yonder, beneath the willow. Terrible is death in the land of the stranger—no one by to assist the dying, to bear his thoughts to his loved ones ! ”

Much as the ancient customs and position of the Cossacks have been modified of late years, they have not yet wholly changed, and are far from being forgotten ; and many traces and indications of them are perceptible in the waggoners (*tschumak*). The inhabitants of Little Russia were, as has been observed, devotedly attached to their country, nevertheless a wandering and adventurous life is that which has always best pleased their imagination. In the *tschumak* there are many evidences of a sense of the importance of paternity and subordination. A chief

* The stumbling of a Cossack’s horse at the door is supposed to be a sign that death is near.

is unanimously elected, who is called *otaman* or *baika* (father). He directs the journey, settles disputes, and, as formerly the Cossack, when dying, bequeathed his horse to his commander, so the *tschumak* resigns his goods to his *otaman*, in order that he may bury him, and pray for mercy on his soul. In like manner, as the mistress or betrothed of the Cossack gave him a covering for his horse, so the beloved one of the *tschumak* embroidered the sleeves of his shirt. The old songs of the Cossacks descended to the waggoners, and became favourites; and the celebrated Morozenko, "whom the Poles feared more than the frost whose name he bore," appears as a *tschumak*. The same heart-rendering farewells, the same prayers, invocations, consolations, and promised returns, are heard:—"Return to us again, my son, and I will anoint thy hair," says the mother to the *tschumak*; and he answers, "Anoint thine own, or that of my sister—the rain will anoint mine: the dry herbs will comb it: the bright sun will dry it, and the fierce winds will curl it." The *tschumak* substitutes the house-bull for the black horse of the Cossack. He loves and tends it, and it tells him of death by its bellowing, as the horse has foretold it to the warrior by stumbling at the door.

I have so far chiefly spoken of the Zaparogs and Cossacks of Little Russia. The Russian Cossacks, properly so called, amongst whom those of the Don occupied the most important place, were originally

from Great Russia. Strangers, such as the Tartars, the Baschkires, and the Zaporogs, were but thinly scattered amongst them. The Cossacks proper were distinguished from the Cossacks of the Ukraine by their custom of allowing the beard to grow, whilst the latter kept it closely shaved, according to the Polish fashion. The Cossacks proper were brigands and pirates by origin, and long continued so in practice. Piracy and brigandage were for several centuries practised on an extensive scale in Russia; and the pirates of the Volga have acquired a bad notoriety throughout the world. Amongst the chief causes of this state of things were social and political mal-organisation, the want of energetic and consistent unity of action on the part of government, and the total absence of popular instruction. More recently, the progressive developments of slavery, the precarious position of property, and the corruption and misconduct of public functionaries, increased the number of those who sought subsistence by crimes against society.

Burlak was the designation given to the pirate or brigand of Great Russia. He was a person of a totally different stamp from the *burlak* or wanderer of Little Russia. The latter was generally an orphan, "a man without a home," a poor, destitute wayfarer, but whose character poetry has rendered interesting. He left his native place perhaps, because, on the death of his parents, he imagined himself pursued

by their spirits, and could find no rest ; and, after praying at his father's and his mother's grave, he sought foreign lands, whence the national impulse—love of country—drove him home again ; and again he prays and cries in the words of one of his native songs :—

“ Dear Mother, why didst thou allow me to see the day ? Why didst thou bring me into the world, without obtaining for me by thy prayers a portion of its blessings ?

“ My father and mother are dead, and with them my country. Why was I left a wretched orphan ?

“ Oh ! could I find a being miserable as myself, that we might mutually sympathise, weeping like the dew falling from the branches of the service-tree !

“ The withered oak—the grave, scorched and flowerless beneath the sun, are the images of my existence !

“ If I climb a mountain, the sun shines brightly, the sky looks lovely, but my destiny is misfortune.”

The *burlak* of Great Russia is entirely a different person. He has commenced life as a gay fellow, a roysterer, an oudalitz, who scatters his money, drinks deep, and cares for no one ; respects not even his own parents, refuses to marry, but betakes himself to amours of a questionable kind.* Driven from home

* “ One held him by the hand, one kissed him on the lips, and a third renewed her endearments.” It should here be observed that domestic relations and family ties in Russia proper are not at all what

for his misconduct, he becomes a wanderer. "The rushes serve him for a bed, thorns for a pillow, and night—the cold and bitter air of winter—for a covering." After long bearing up against his self-incurred misfortunes, his sufferings become insupportable: he joins a band of robbers, and becomes *burlak*, for he likes not the name of "brigand"

"We eat, we drink," says the Cossack pirate song, "to our liking and content, on the Volga; our wines all ready poured out, our meats all ready dressed, our clothes of all colours ready prepared by the labour of others."

The Volga, the Don, and the Oka were the chief scenes of the depredations of the Cossack pirates. They attacked trading vessels with the utmost courage and fierceness, and were usually successful. The treatment received by their prisoners was of the most savage kind. Their large twelve-oared boats, painted and gilt, had often a very showy appearance. One of their common practices was to kidnap women who were foolish enough to come to the banks of the rivers to gaze at the passing pirate fleet.

they are in Ukraine. In the former country, wives are not respected, but regarded and treated as servants, or rather slaves, to their husbands; love and esteem having little to do with matrimonial engagements. The songs or records of Ukraine, make no allusion to family discords, because such things are scarcely known there; but in Russia the murder of wives by their husbands is, unfortunately, of not unfrequent occurrence, and in the popular poetry are many references to domestic crimes of the deepest dye.

When the power of the imperial government became more compact and concentrated than it had been in former times, active and vigorous measures were taken to put down this trade in piracy. The pirates were everywhere captured by the strong forces sent against them : they were imprisoned, tortured, and subjected to the most painful forms of death : they died with courage, and without either suing for mercy or expressing sorrow for their offences—the usual request of the dying criminal being merely that a cross should be erected on his grave, in order that passers-by might bow to it, and utter a prayer. But it was only the river and rebel pirates whom the government treated in this fashion. Other pirates, who crossed the sea and harassed the Turks, were praised and encouraged ; and the ancient songs speak rapturously of the magnificent equipment with which they went forth against the infidels, from whom they often took rich booty. But, on the other hand, they were frequently made prisoners, when, so great was their confidence in the power of the Czar, that the songs describe them expressing the hope that he would soon order the Turks to release them, otherwise (the verse proceeds) “the calm and glorious Don will be agitated ; the whole Cossack host will arise, rout the Turkish army, and make their Czar (sultan) a prisoner.”

Piracy being in great measure put down amongst the Don Cossacks, the natural bent of their disposition

displayed itself in their serviceable qualities as soldiers in the imperial armies. It was a Cossack, (Yermak) who finally completed the conquest of Siberia. To the Czar they, one and all, pay a blind homage—a homage so servile that it borders on adoration; and they appear to consider him in the light of a being of an order distinct from, and superior to, human nature. From the time of Peter the Great, the Cossacks of the Don have played a prominent part in all the wars in which the Russian empire has been engaged: from Poltava to the Borodino they have distinguished themselves.

One of the principal distinctions between the Cossacks of Great Russia and those of the Ukraine has always been the affection and respect with which females are treated by the latter. There are many other points of contrast, but I need not here enter into them. One feeling which they have in common is hatred for the *boyars*. Amongst the reasons which have produced this animosity in the minds of the Great Russian Cossacks is the fact, that the *boyars* form the instruments by which the imperial mandates are enforced—mandates by which the navigation of the great rivers is watched, horses frequently seized for the army, piracies restrained, and other proceedings enforced which the Cossacks consider inimical to their interests. Being too ignorant to discern the power which causes these acts, and recognising only its visible instruments, they are almost

universally inspired with an intense hatred for the *boyars*, some of whom had sanguinary proofs of their hostility. Nekrassof,* after having fled into Turkey with 40,000 Cossacks, complained, on the part of himself and his followers, not against the Czar, but against the *boyar* who caused their beards to be shaved, and the young men to be pressed into the army; not perceiving that there was behind the curtain a power which, willingly or unwillingly, *boyars* were compelled to obey, but which contrived to throw upon the latter the odium of executing its ordinances.

The traveller who, in our day, visits the Don, finds a country, flat, monotonous, and uninteresting; fertile but badly cultivated; a population which, for Russia, is rich and luxurious; for the Cossack, even of the middle class, will have his expensive wines at table—a custom to be met with in no other part of Russia, inordinately profuse as are the habits of the very highest orders. But whilst his civilisation has been advancing, his liberty has been diminishing. The government at the present time is half military, half civil, and, it may almost be added, half Russian, half German. The Emperor and the Grand Duke are alternately Hetman of the Cossacks.

The Cossacks of the Black Sea, descendants of

* There are now 6000 Nekrassof's Cossacks at Dobroudja, who fight for the Turks, bearing a banner in which are collated the crescent and the cross on argent and crimson fields. Joseph Gantsharov is the head of them.

the Zaparogs, transported thither by Catherine the Second, in 1786, are now under the command of the chief of the Caucasus. Their hetman has the rank of general of division. "Barbarian slavery and German pedantry" daily extend their domination over the descendants of Novogorodians. It will be strange to see the day when German officers mock the style and accent of the Cossacks, by singing or caricaturing the old national songs.

THE TAHTARS.*

The name Tahtars is neither to be derived from the name of a chief, nor of a river, nor from *Tata*, as the Chinese called their southern neighbours, but means *People*, a term very usual for nations to call themselves by. Yet, I do not believe, that the Tahtars formed a federation, as the Germans, the Alemans (All men), or the Franks did.

Russian historians have spread the belief that the Mongols and Tahtars are the same nation. Both invaded Russia; Chinghiskhan,† who was a Mongol by birth, assumed the name of a Tahtar (*audacious?*), so did his grandson Batyi, but the two races are quite distinct. The Mongols greatly resemble the Chinese and the Malayas, whilst the Tahtars are relatives of the Turks.

* It is quite erroneous to write Tartars, and high time to expel the *r*.

† Chingis means ocean.

We can nowhere observe the Tahtars better than in the primitive seat of that race, in the neighbourhood of the Altai and Baikal lakes, in Siberia, where there are many Tahtar tribes.

M. CASTREN, a learned Finlander, the author of a Tcheremissian and a Syrjaenian Grammar, was sent by the St. Petersburg Academy, with a salary of £100 yearly, to study the languages of the Finnish tribes of Siberia : he has communicated to his friends the result of his study of the Tahtars of MINUSINSK.

They call the principle of good KUDAI, and the principle of evil AINA. Kudai has a great deal to do to survey the government of all the Khans, who are all subjected to *Ulu-Khan*, or the Great Khan : viz. the Emperor of China.

The bad spirits live under the earth, and their chief is termed IRLE-KHAN. They have intercourse with the SHAMANS, or the priests, who wear on their dress shells and embroidered figures as symbols of their intercourse with the infernal spirits.

These Tahtars adore rocks and a kind of trees. The swan is a sacred bird ; if any body kills one, he must carry it to his neighbour, give him *airan* (horse-milk*), and take of him a horse in exchange. The latter now does the same with his neighbours, and so the bird must go the round of all the inhabitants, till the last hangs it up in his house.

A village is called *uruss*, and a cabin *iurt*; but among

* *Kumiss* is in Siberia the name of cow-milk.

Nomade tribes cabins are *kibitkis* or tents; the Tahtars of KACHIN change their encampment three times a year. Their winter settlements are the strongest. The tents are moveable, have a conic form, and are divided into two parts ; that on the right is reserved for the women, and that on the left for the men : every family has a tent for themselves.

Persons of the same name ought never to marry together, but near relatives not of the same stock often do.

The Tahtars are better on horseback than on foot, and their horses are more liked by them than even their wives ; they are never employed for any laborious work, and a Tahtar who has any regard for his horse, believes that it understands and shares his thoughts, and his sufferings equally as his pleasures.

Their musical instrument is of two strings, and is termed *Kobyza*.

The chief of any of these tribes is called "Oldman," of any other, "Saissan."

There are a great many little princes among these tribes, and also some rich cattle owners.

When any one dies, they put into his coffin a saddle, meat, and whatever is necessary for travelling.

The Siberian tribes are blended more and more with the Russians, so that their characteristic features are disappearing, and their peculiar distinctions will vanish before they have been studied and described. This is perhaps no great cause for regret, inasmuch as they

are not called to play any great part among mankind. The TELEUTES however are still in existence, and continue at the lake of Telezki, as well as in Naima. Their Saissan is, at the same time, their soothsayer. Russian missionaries endeavour to bring them over to their faith, but have little to be proud of, from their misunderstanding the Christian principles.

A remarkable tribe is that of Dwojedanzi, of Mongolian blood. They are the subjects of the Emperor of China; but living on Russian ground, they pay tribute also to the Czar.*

Whilst some tribes in Siberia have disappeared, as the ANAULES, the SHELAGES, others are diminishing in numbers, as the KAMCHADALES, the VOGULES, who amount only to a population of 3000; but the BURIATES and the TUNGUSES are increasing in numbers. Ritter,† however, estimates the number of the Buriates too high, viz. at 200,000. There are only 73,000 males. They began to cultivate the earth at the end of the last century, thanks to the "Upper Taisha" of CHORINZENES, their regenerator. The number of YAKUTES amounts to 82,959.

The three centuries that the Russians have had dominion over the Tahtars of Kasan and Astrakhan, have considerably changed their customs. Kasan is no longer a Tahtar but a Russian town; there is

* See HELMERSEN, *Reise nach dem Altai*, St. Petersburg, 1834.

† *Erdkunde von Asien*.

only the quarter near the lake Koban, called "the Tahtar Street," where they are allowed to live; the mosque in the city is closed against them, and by the side of it, there is the monument of the conquest of Kasan by Ivan Wassiliwich; it is of stone, with an iron base, and is dedicated to Russian divine service. Russian brandy has superseded the use of horse milk, and drunken Tahtars are even to be seen in the streets. Already the Tahtars almost always speak Russian among themselves.

Till 1849, the government gave eight silver rubles to a Tahtar on his conversion to Christianity; now this premium is abolished, and those who are desirous of becoming converts, must content themselves with the gift presented by the godfather, whom they take good care however to select from among the richest.

The dress of the Tahtars in the governments of Saratov and Simbirsk is different from those of Kasan, inasmuch as the former wear robes of red and black cloth embroidered with yellow braid. However, the women are dressed in the same manner, and wear caps like those of the men, like Jews' caps, round, but ornamented with silver coins, great numbers of which they wear also at their breast.

Polygamy is still practised; rich Tahtars have as many as four wives, with each of whom they live alternately one week. Each wife has her own house, and in her turn goes with her bed to the husband.

Both sexes are accustomed to blacken their teeth,

and wear morocco boots made of several colours, like Mosaic work, over which are galoshes of red morocco.

There are many rich Tahtars in Kasan and Astrakhan, who carry on trade in stuffs, owners of large houses; but in the country, the cabins, worse than those of Russian peasants, are always thatched with straw.

Batyi conquered the Crimea in the year 1240. It became an independent state in 1266, Mangou, the sovereign of Chipchak, having ceded it to his nephew, Oran.

The name Crimea may come from the Cimbri, the ancestors of the Gauls, as Thierry in his *Histoire des Gaules* has asserted, or from ιρηνοι, “ declivity of rocks.” There was a town, CIMMERIUM, which may have been situated where are the ruins now called *Stari Krim* (Old Crimea).

The name of Tauride, that the Crimea bears with the ancients, came from the *Tauri*, who inhabited the country, and who were compelled to retire into the mountains, as a part of the Cimbrians who did not go to Gaul, were also, after they had been hard pressed by the Scythians.

Hommaire de Hell says,* that Nogai may never have existed,—that this name is not known to the Nogai-Tahtars,—and that Nogai signifies “ May you never know what happiness is.” Yet, however well the Nogai may be acquainted with all their nobles

* *Voyage dans les steppes de la Mer Caspienne.*

and ancient glories, history teaches us, that Nogai formed his horde* in the thirteenth century.

People well know by what treachery and faithlessness Catherine II and Potemkin destroyed the khans of the Crimea, and conquered that beautiful country. Therefore, we will content ourselves with making some remarks upon the present state of the Crimean Tahtars.

There are between the Sea of Asov and the river "Moloshnaia Voda," 32,000 Nogais, in 76 villages, whose features resemble those of Mongols (black Tahtars) more than those of Tahtars (white Tahtars). The Tahtars of the Black Sea are very different, and nearer to the Indian-German race.

The mufti of the Crimea, or the head of the Musulman faith in the government of Tauride, resides in the *aoul* (hamlet) Emmaut. The mollahs (priests) collect tithes for defraying the expenses of religion. A *bab* (father) is specially charged with the office of circumcision.

It is well known that every Musulman must go at least once on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He who has performed that duty is called *hadji*; he wears a white turban. Now, among the Kazan and Astrakhan Tahtars this custom has entirely disappeared, and the mollahs alone wear white turbans. In the Crimea, the faithful however would like to fulfil this duty,

* Ourdon means *aula*, court, and horde is a corruption of that word.

but the Russian power has surrounded it with so many formalities,—as for instance, every one being obliged to exhibit a sum of 300 silver rubles (£120), as being in his possession, that the Tahtars prefer remaining at home. Such is the respect shown by the Russian government to the faith of others!

The Crimea abounds in salt. The lakes produce 250,000 tons per annum. But whilst a pood (40 lbs. weight) of salt costs the crown 2*d*, it sells it at 8*d*,—by which monopoly the most necessary product for agriculture is rendered inaccessible to the poor.

Another source of wealth in the peninsula, is the breeding of sheep. The Tahtars breed them of three different colours—black, brown, and blue-grey. The latter are very much sought after, and owe their colour to a particular plant of which their food consists.*

THE KALMUCKS.

The Kalmucks call themselves ELEUTES. The name Kalmuck is derived from the Mongolian word *Kalimak*, and signifies *separated* or *unfaithful*. The Kalmucks under the Russian power are from the tribe of the DERBETES. There are only from 15,000 to 20,000 tents or families, and they possess the worst soil that can be imagined—a soil totally incapable of

* See Demidof, *Voyage en Crimée et dans la Russie Méridionale*.

cultivation; so that they are not to be blamed for not attempting the cultivation of it. There is a total want of water, the soil is somewhat salt, and the climate so variable, that there is a difference, between the extreme heat and cold, of 60 degrees. These hordes only appear ridiculous upon a superficial knowledge, or a prejudiced view of them. They are in truth, for more reasons than one, interesting, and present the purest Mongol type. In the year 1630 they came, for the first time, to the banks of the Volga, and made an attack upon Astrakhan, but they were repulsed, and their Khan, Kho-Orloik, was killed. His son, DAITCHINK, in the year 1665, acknowledged the Russian dominion.

AIOUKIKHAN, the grandson of DAITCHINK, exalted himself to the rank of Chief of all the Kalmucks, beat the Nogai-Tahtars, and raised a great hill with the dead bodies of the enemy, which he called *Baiün-Tolkon*, that is, *The Hill of Joys*, a hill to be seen at this day.

He assisted Peter I, with 5000 horse, in his war against the Persians. In the reign of Elizabeth, the Kalmucks sent 30,000 men to the war in the Crimea. The Kalmucks had no reason, however, to be satisfied with the Russian government. On the death of Aiouki, in the year 1724, the Russian *Pristav* (President) took the power of the khans into his own hands, and ruled without restraint, so that the khans became only a shadow in the hands of Russia, and

had to expect their ratification from Petersburg. In consequence, the Kalmucks resolved to leave the protection and the land of Russia, and to go back to China. The Emperor of the Chinese was a man of ability, and therefore so much the more sensibly must the preference have been felt by the philosophical Catherine II.

On the 5th of January, 1771, 70,000 families withdrew, under the conduct of the khan УВАКНÁ, taking away with them by force the Russian Captain DUDIN and a hundred soldiers. They were attacked by Cossacks and Kirghis on their march, lost a great many men, fought their way through, the Russian General TAUTENBERG not pursuing them from Orenburg. They were plundered by Turkoman and Tahtar tribes; they lost 20,000 families on a journey that continued for eight months; arrived notwithstanding, though half-starved, on the Chinese borders at ИЛЫ, in the year 1772, and were received by the Emperor of the Celestial Empire with pride and pomp. In order to preserve the remembrance of that event, which reunited the Mongol race under his sceptre, the Chinese Emperor erected a monument, with an inscription in the four languages of his dominions. Only 15,000 families remained in Russia, which were detained by the extraordinary circumstance of the Volga not being frozen over.

The Russian government endeavoured to represent the case in a light less unfavourable for themselves.

They laid the blame on Chinese intrigues, on the embassy of TULICHEN, who, in the year 1724, was sent from Pekin to Aiouki ; but a mere invitation to go back to China would not have availed, nor would it have taken fifty years for its accomplishment. KICHINSKI, the Pristaf, had abused his power. From that time too the power of the pristaf was limited, yet the Kalmucks did not regain their own administration, and the Committee, who reside in Astrachan, and preside over the affairs of the whole country, consists of a Russian president, two Russian judges, and two Kalmuck deputies.

The only branch of trade which offered the Kalmucks any expectation of profit, viz. horse-dealing, was stopped by the imprudence of the Russian government, the toll on horses brought to fairs being tripled.

The Kalmucks live in two provinces, viz. the Astrachan and the Caucasian ; but the greater part of them inhabit the first province between the Volga, the Kuma, the Egorlick, and the Kugultcha. In this district the Turkomans have 3838 tents, and a horde of Tahtars SIRTOF 112 tents.

Each horde is called *oulousi*, and is divided into camps, each of which has a pristaf. Princes govern these, and under them there is an inferior order, called *Zaisans*, who command from 100 to 150 tents. Of the princes the richest is TONDUDOF, who has 4500 tents. Five hundred families are called Chris-

tian, and are reckoned among the Mosdock's Cossacks, but they are only Christians in appearance. The Kalmucks belong to the Lahma's confession, and have a high-priest. The high-priest, ZAIA-PANDITY, was the inventor of the Kalmuck alphabet in the seventeenth century.

The noblemen are called "white bones," and the common people "black bones." They have more than 1,000,000 of sheep, and about 250,000 horses. Also some wine is grown by them, and particularly by Prince TUMEN. They are very fond of Russian gin, but the Government, under the influence of an unusual philanthropy, has refused to establish public-houses among them. Consequently they are obliged to content themselves with effervescent *kumiss*, or horse-milk.

The Kalmucks wear yellow cloth caps and red boots, which, according to the Chinese fashion, are too short, a thing however of little consequence to them, as they are always on horseback.

THE BASHKIRES.

The Bashkires call themselves BASHKOURTS, and are settled between the Kama, the Volga, and the Ural, near the Belaïa, in the government of Orenburg. They belong to the Mongolian race, and are the ancestors of the Hungarians.* Coming originally

* RUBRUQUIS says: "De illa regione PASCATIE (Baskird) exicunt Huni, qui postea Hungari."

from Siberia they conquered Hungary, but were defeated by Batyi, at the Theiss,* in 1224.

People say, that the Mongolian type (small eyes, half-closed, flat and large noses, prominent cheek-bones) is the most difficult to extinguish, yet they meet only with very few Hungarians who preserve the Mongolian features.

Under the Russian dominion, the Bashkires gave up their nomade life and became agriculturists. But they excel more in the keeping of bees than in any other branch. They owe even their name to this pursuit—*bash* meaning bee-hive.

The Musulman faith has not made them clean; but the Tahtars, who believe that by washing the body they cleanse the soul, give the reins to their lusts, and instead of adorning their minds, indulge their passions.

The Bashkires send 15,000 men in summer to the Siberian line, to guard the frontier together with Cossacks; but they do very little in truth, and the Kirghis, who go out on robbing excursions on that line, do not fear them at all. They are dressed in dark blue cloth, with caps of the same cloth, or of white felt. Though they have forgotten how to make use of the bow, they have not learned how to use the musket. Their horses are not so good as those of the Kirghis, and are always ruined during their summer service; therefore, they send their worst horses to the line,

* KHONDEMIR. See *Journal Asiatique* for the year 1851.

saying, that the good ones would also be incapable of supporting the service.

At Orenburg, there is a beautiful building, called “Bashkirian Karavanserail,” with a mosque and a minaret in the middle. It is not a bazaar, as the name would lead one to suppose, but the seat of the administration of the Bashkires. This edifice was founded by Count Perovski, Governor-General of Orenburg.

One may read in several books on the Russian nations,* that the Bashkires have red beards and black hair,—the Kirghis men hair of a chesnut colour, and their women dark hair,† and something of that kind as regards the Kalmucks, yet I did not witness such an uniformity, but varieties, in individuals, without distinction of the sexes.

THE CAUCASIANS.

The people of the Caucasus are to be divided into Circassians and Kartwells. Both are collective names, and each race is subdivided into a great many tribes. The former are Musulmen, with some remains of paganism, and are mountaineers; the latter are Christians, and inhabit the southern slope of the Caucasus; devoted to the Russians, to whom they form an auxiliary militia, their princes being Russian

* For instance Levesque, *Histoire de Russie*, tome viii.

† Levshine.

generals or colonels, whilst the Circassians are called peaceable or hostile.

Both KABARDAHS have been subdued since the time of Catherine II, and the military road passes through their country. The LESGHIANs, who were at war with Peter the Great, are still warriors under SHAMYL, and, like the TCHETCHENES, they carry on a war of independence.

To the race of Kartwell belong the Georgians, the Mingrelians, the Immeritians. Georgia has been called IBERIA, and it is thought that the ancestors of the Spaniards originally came from that country. They have always been praised for their valour, but, at the end of the last century, the Georgians suffered immensely from the Tahtars and the Lesghians. Russia supported Georgia, not sufficiently indeed to prevent the enemy from destroying Tiflis, but quite enough to prove to the country, that once under the Russian rule, it would be safe from the Musulmen. Alexander's manifesto of 12th Sept. 1801, says that he accepts the weight of the Georgian throne, not for the sake of extending the empire, already so large, but only from humanity! Even in Russia very few could believe that the Georgians surrendered themselves to the Czär by a voluntary acknowledgment of the superiority of the Russian rule, and of its ability to make the people happy; every one smiled incredulously, and had nothing to do but to look at the Queen of Georgia, Maria, who was detained at Petersburg,

in the Tauric palace, a name that might well remind her of the treacherous acquisition of another kingdom. She rode through the streets in one of the court carriages, and her features expressed great affliction. The covering which she wore on her head, as usual in Georgia, prevented the people from seeing the scars of the sabre wounds that she had received before she quitted her country. Her consort, George XIII, had delivered up the country to the Russians, but she protested against it; and when the Russian colonel LAZAREFF came to carry her away to St. Petersburg, she refused to follow him. He was going to use violence, but the queen took out from her bosom a poinard, and stabbed him. The interpreter drew his sabre, and gave her several cuts on the head, so that she fell down insensible.

Russia wanted Tiflis, in order to transfer the residence of the Caucasian administration to that place, and to render it the central point of military operations; but even after the reunion, we see the Georgian Prince ALEXANDER, son of HERACLIUS, make common cause with the mountaineers, and fight with them against the Russians.

Russian official writers* justify their possession of Kabardah, on the ground of the marriage of the Czar Ivan Wassilievich with a daughter of TEMRUK, a Kabardah princess. Perhaps they do not know that the famous Queen of Georgia, TAHMAR, was married

* FONTON, *La Russie dans l'Asie-Mineure.*

to a son of ANDRE BOGOLUBSKY, who at first conducted himself well, but was afterwards banished by his wife.*

The Mingrelians remain under Russian protection, and have their own princes, but they are proud of being in the Russian service.

Immeretia acknowledged the Russian power under her King Alexander, in 1650.

The Russian Armenia consists of the territory taken by conquest from Persia and Turkey, from 1827 to 1829.

The treaty of TURKMENCHAI allowed every Christian to emigrate from Persia to Russia. In 1828, 8000 Armenian families, or 40,000 souls, under the direction of Colonel Lazareff, crossed the Araxes. The Persian government prohibited the purchase of their land, yet they emigrated without any means of subsistence. The Russian power spent 14,000 ducats in assisting them, still they suffered great privations, and many of them, after two years, returned home.†

We must refer the reader for further particulars relative to the Circassians to our work, just published, "The Caucasus."

* Vide EVGENII, Metropolitan of Kiev, *Historical Survey of Georgia*, in Russian.

† NEUMAN. *Geschichte der Uebersiedelung der 40,000 Armenien*.

In 1605, Shah Abbas I. forcibly transported 24,000 Armenian families beyond the Araxes. Vide MALCOLM, *History of Persia*.

We have, in addition, to introduce the UDI, in the district of SHEKINSK, and the Koubetchis, in North Daghestan. The local authorities are just now making inquiries into their state.*

Were the Russian faith as much better than the Musulman as the Russians pretend, the Circassians would not repulse it with the perseverance that they exhibit. Shamyl, in his proclamations, said, that lies proceed out of the Russian mouth. The Russian functionaries are despised and hated ; and no wonder then that the Russian gospel fails in overcoming the Koran.

KIRGHIS-KASAK.

The Kirghis call themselves Cossacks,† and there is no reason for the name of Kirghis, that the Russians give them.

They are divided into three hordes, the Great, the Middle, and the Little Horde ; the Great one is the smallest, but the oldest.

All the three together may have a population of 2,000,000 or 2,400,000, but statistics do not flourish in that country.

* Prince Voronzof wrote to the Geographical Society of St. Petersburg, that he had himself visited the Koubetchis, and that they were carrying on the fabrication of weapons.

† The Russian o is often pronounced a, as in Cossack.

The Kirghis are encamped in the governments of Orenburg and Perm (district Ekaterinenburg).

Islamism is the prevailing faith among them, but intermixed with paganism, and is not observed in its purity, except as regards circumcision. Even ablutions are not used, and the Kirghis are too idle to pray to God as often as the "Faithful" do.

Spirituos liquors are liked and made of horse milk (*koumis*) and fruits.

The Kirghis know nothing of bread: *balanik* or flour fried with fat is a substitute for it; cheese made of sour sheep's or cow's milk, horse flesh, and mutton constitute their food. The feet of the filly or colt, when smoked, are a great dainty.

Sheep serve for money; weight is not known among the Kirghis; they exchange their wares by the eye, in the heap.

The week begins, as among the Persians, on Saturday, and Mongol jubilees, consisting of twelve years, each of which bears the name of an animal, are a mode of computing time.

Venus is also by these savages called the shepherd's star, because it rises when the shepherds return home, and disappears when they are going into the fields.

The Great Bear, say the Kirghis, is composed of seven wolves pursuing two horses; when the former overtake the latter, the world will be at an end.*

* LEVSHINE, Description des Steppes des Kirghis-Kassaks.

The Kirghis do not know how to read, but the mollahs whom the Russian government send to them teach them.

They have however songs, and sometimes use the same expressions and comparisons that civilized poets do. As for instance :—

“ Do you see this snow ? —The body of my mistress is whiter. Do you see the blood flowing from the slaughtered lamb ? —Her cheeks are more rosy. Do you see this tree trunk that is burnt ? —Her hair is blacker. Do you know what the mollahs write with ? —Her eyebrows are darker than their ink. Do you see these flaming coals ? —Her eyes shine with a brighter flame.”

M. Nöshel, who accompanied the expedition under the Governor-General of Orenburg, Count Perovsky, to Khiva, in 1847, communicated to the *Geographical Society of Petersburg* interesting details about the steppe of the Kirghis.

This desert looks sometimes like a sea, without shore, and the eyes are soon exposed to several illusions, *fata-morgana*, but the predominant colour is yellow.

M. Nöshel believes the height of the desert to be from 600 to 700 feet above the level of the sea.

Oases of several kinds are frequent, some of them being a great extent of soil which the industry of the Kirghis renders fruitful. They excel in irrigation and the cultivation of pure water melons and other fruits ;

but a want of wood and water is sensibly felt. The *atriplex cana*, a plant called by the aborigines *Kiuk-kok*, is employed by them as fuel. They meet with almond bushes, and the iris is frequently found. Wild pigs, wild horses, and wild asses, and sometimes tigers are to be seen.

Among the lakes, we may mention, DJITTA-KUL, BATKAK-KUL, AIKE, CHALKAR. The rivers OR, ILEK, EMBA, IRGIS, have their sources here.

Peculiar to this country are extensive and deep ravines, which suddenly appear to the traveller, and which have salt at the bottom. One of them, called KARA-SAI, is sixty miles in length.

No mountains, except hills, which however rise to the height of some 200 feet.

THE FINNISH RACE.

If the heart of Russia is inhabited by Russians, the borders are occupied by tribes of other races; on the east and the south by Tahtars, the west by Poles, on the north by Finnlanders and Laplanders.

I read in a manuscript of mine, entitled *Historical development of the Russian Nation*:

“The Finns were known to Tacitus, but Jornandes speaks of more of these tribes, and amongst them Tchoudes, Wess, Mery, Mordva, and Tcheremiss are most remarkable.

“*Finn* is a German word: the Slavonians called

them *Tchoudes*, that is to say, *strange*. From them came the names *Tchoukh*, *Tchoukhonetz*, at present vulgar names and nicknames, which the Russians give even to the Estonians and Livonians, and to Germans in general. The Finns called themselves *SUONI*. The *SAMOIEDES* bear the name of *NJEUEZ* or *FLASOWO* (men). The name *Zamoïed* is a corruption of *SOUMEID*, a name that the Laplanders give to their country, and though it means in Russian *eater of himself*, we must not suppose them the *Anthropophagi* whom Herodotus has placed in the north of Russia ; yet are we of opinion that all nations were originally cannibals.

" Among the *LETTS*, we must distinguish the proper Letts, who inhabit Curland ; the *LIVES*, who remain in a small part of Livonia ; and the *ESTHS*, who form a majority of the inhabitants of the Baltic provinces, and particularly of Esthland.

" Parrot assure us* that all these tribes at first spoke Esth, and that one quarter of the Slavonian words which were in the Lett language were introduced afterwards, but the Letts do not understand Esth. *Livæ* means *sand*, and *Lätte* *source*.

" The Lithuanians have nothing in common with the Letts ; their language is quite different, and we must admit that they are Finnish Slavonians."

The *Tchoudes* have disappeared completely, and their posterity we recognize in the people of Dwina,

* PARROT, *Liven, Letter und Esten*, Stuttgart, 1828.

in the Archangelsk government, who have also in turn vanished.

But in all the east of Russia, we find Finnish people; the VIATAKI, the PERMIAKI belong to them, as well as the OSTIAKI in Siberia.

TCHUVASHES, TCHEREMISSES, MORDVAS, three Finnish tribes extend as far as the governments of Nijni—Novgorod, Simbirsk, Kazan, Viatka, and Perm.

Of these the Mordvas have shown themselves most disposed to accept Russian manners, but the Tchurashes and Tcheremisses exhibit an extraordinary attachment to their own customs. They are a mixture of Finns and Tahtars. Though converted to the Russian faith, they show little respect for holy images, which you may sometimes see under the tables. In secret, they practice their own forms of worship. The obstinacy of this race goes so far, that they speak much less Russian than the Tahtars do.

When soldiers, they display a great aptitude for military exercises which they learn much quicker than the Russians do, but in the cultivation of the soil, they are far surpassed by the Russian peasants. However there are rich people also among them.

Both sexes wear white linen robes embroidered with red, short trowsers and Russian hats. In winter they put on Russian furs, so that they are not in that season, to be distinguished from Russians.

In the government of Viatka, there are very few

serfs, and the Russian peasants there know how to make themselves respected by the functionaries who are induced to revenge themselves on the poor Tcheremisses, as they offer no resistance to their encroachments.

There are in the government of Twer any 60,000 KARELIS who have been established there by force; however they have plenty of land and are quite well.

I could never get rid of the idea that the Finns and the Esths are of one common origin. Let the more learned prove the contrary.

Whilst those who are in possession of property in Finland are Swedes, those in the Baltic provinces are Germans. Descendants of knights of the sword, emigrants from Bremen, Lubeck, &c. constitute the nobility and the middle classes in Liev, Esth, and Curland. The peasants there are more unhappy than the Russian serfs, for though they have the right to change their masters, the latter have also the right to send them away, and they often abuse that right, being combined against them.

These provinces are most devoted to Russia; their noblemen who are in favour at court obtain for their countrymen whatever they wish. Yet they also complain of the gradual and systematical withdrawal of their privileges. Sweden and Poland, under whose dominion they were before, respected them better.

Whilst the Germans of these provinces enjoy the benefits of German information, the Esths, though

going to the Lutheran Church with books, are far from being so clever as Russian peasants. Only one person in 145 receives a public education. But the university of Dorpat, in Lievland, has nothing to envy the German universities for, and Al. Humbold himself said somewhere, that he spent in that town an evening as interesting as any in Paris among the most learned men.

RUSSIAN MYSTERIES.

HERETICS.

In the commencement of the fourteenth century there was formed in Novgorod and in Pskov a powerful sect, called Strigolniki, founded by a Deacon of Moscow, of the name of Karp. This sect accused the Russian bishops of simony, and refused to obey them, declaring that it was better to confess to the earth than to those immoral priests. The patriarch of Constantinople, Anthony, took this affair into consideration, and addressed an epistle to the Novgorodians against the heresy, declaring that it was no disgrace to receive gifts of those who give, and that it was not for heretics to judge their pastors any more than for sheep to lead their shepherds.

Photius, the metropolitan of Kiev, did the same on his part; nevertheless the heresy continued, and in 1503, the paying of bishops by the newly-ordained was abolished.

The chief cause of dissent was the revision and alteration of the text of the Holy Scriptures, undertaken in 1518, and continued till 1652, when Nicon was appointed patriarch. The Czar Alexis Mikhai-

lovich, wishing to complete the work of his predecessors, convoked several councils, in order to correct the books. In 1667 the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch sat together, with Russian prelates, and the books were revised and purified. Hence the origin of Schisms. The Schismatics resolutely adhered to the old books, images, priests, and sacraments. They called those who accepted the innovations Niconians, avoided all intercourse with them, and declared that it was right to cheat them, as it was right to cheat the Germans.

We shall first sketch the dogmas common to all the old believers. They do not believe in the indivisibility of the Holy Trinity, and place each person on a separate throne. The food they bring in the markets is purified by prayers ; they prohibit the frequenting of public baths. Those who join their sect are baptized again, after fasting for forty days ; they make 1000 bows, 300 with their foreheads down to the ground, and 700 profound bows. They then take off their clothes and the cross (each Russian wearing one at his breast) as a sign of their voluntarily giving up their former creed. After this they are covered with sackcloth, and thrown three times into water. This ceremony is even performed in the depth of winter, holes being cut in the ice to allow of the operation. Very often the converts have died of cold from this. Such a death however is considered holy and the sure road to Paradise.

When priests turned over to this sect they went through the same ceremony, only with this difference, that they were immersed with their surplices on, that they might not be deprived of their ordination. By and bye the inconvenience of this custom was discovered, and they contented themselves with a mock baptism. The godfather of the noviciate bound him to his neck with the sackcloth before mentioned, led him round the vases filled with holy water, after which the suffering devotee was rubbed all over with myrrh. In the case of a priest, his robes were raised for the administering of the unction. Such a mode was adopted in Vetka's congregation. Among these Anabaptists there were some who plunged themselves into water without the aid of priests. A certain fanatic declared even that all water on earth as belonging to Antichrist was impure, and that it was absolutely necessary to be baptized with heavenly water. For this purpose he constructed a sort of buckets with the branches of trees, in order to collect rain water. He was now put to a ridiculous test: he was told that if his doctrine were true, he would be able to drink wine without reeling. As he had never drunk any before, he became giddy, and his doctrine was condemned.

As long as there were priests ordained in the ancient way, all went on tolerably well. Some ancient images were bought or stolen, and they pretended that they had the ancient communion bread and ancient myrrh. But the time came when there were

no more ancient priests. Then the heretics separated into two parties: one party dispensing with *popes* (Russian priests), and the other admitting new ones. The former were called *Bespopovstschina* (without Priests), the latter *Popovstschina* (Priestites). Old people and illiterate peasants discharged the office of priests among the former, and renegade priests among the latter.

The most ridiculous frauds were practised in respect to the administering of the Communion, and of the unction. Some morsels of the ancient consecrated bread were mixed up with new-made bread; old women and rogues made a traffic of this adulteration. Every one kept the holy substances at home, without much regard to cleanliness, some falling on the floor, some even being lost. They had no scruple indeed to mix common oil with a small quantity of the ancient myrrh. In Moscow alone they dared to make some new myrrh, to the extreme indignation of all the other sects. For it is to be observed, the Schismatics, though separated from the Russian Church, never presumed to ordain priests, or celebrate the sacraments. As they all said, that the reign of Antichrist had begun, they naturally looked out for the last day. The Pomorians, or the inhabitants of the coast of the Northern Ocean, thinking the last day already come, laid down in their coffins, awaiting the final consummation; but no change occurring, ashamed they laid aside their shrouds, and donned their usual dress. A

heretic of Tschernopol made use of a lucrative trick, persuading the Moscovian schismatics to despoil themselves and lay down in their coffins ; upon which he extinguished the lights, and decamped with their clothes.

Even up to the present time the heretics are in many things in open rebellion against the government. The Pomorians refused to call the Czars emperors, alleging that it was not a Russian name, nor would they pray for them. They were denounced to the Empress Anne, who sent a commission under the conduct of Samarin, to their convent at Wygoretzk, situated forty verstes from Onega ; and they were obliged not only to own that the Czar was their emperor, but also to include the imperial family in their prayers ; but they continued to omit their titles. The Philippons, who had just left them on futile grounds, preferred the stake to submission ; and the Theodosians, previously of the same order as the Pomorians, obstinately persisted in their course, held their former fellow-worshippers in contempt, nick-naming them Samarins.

Suicide, committed for the sake of the faith, is generally lauded by the heretics of the north, who consider it as martyrdom. The Philippons particularly advocate voluntary death, and practise it by means of fire, water, and hunger. If they find any novitiates who wish to die by hunger, in order to go to heaven, they sentence them to fast forty days, con-

trive to make them give up their earthly property to their order, or rather to the leaders. Then they shut these deluded people up in an empty cottage, after having ordained them as monks, and taken off their clothes, in order to prevent them from shortening their days in any other way than by hunger. After this these unfortunate people begin to suffer a real torture: in vain do they ask for food or liberty; renouncing the salvation of their souls; after having eaten their own fingers, they expire in awful torments. If they succeed in breaking loose, the guards have orders to kill them.

Among the Pomorians there is only the sect called Adamants who condemn suicide. But, on the other hand, they go further than any other sect in insubordination to the civil authorities; not only, as the other sects, do they not receive passports, but they will not take the oath of allegiance to the Czar, saying that Christ forbade swearing, and commanded the simple expression, "yea, yea, nay, nay." They will not accept of coins, or anything bearing the Russian arms, which represent St. George and the Dragon, the Dragon being considered by them as the image of Antichrist. They even avoid walking on the roads, pretending that they are made by the enemy of Christ.

The CHERNOBOLZI refuse to give recruits to the army.*

* The name is derived from Chernobol, an estate belonging to *Pan Khodkevich*.

All these sects differ in general very little from one another. The founder of the Pomorians was Simeon Wikoulin, who established a monastery on the banks of the Wyg, forty verstes from Onega. The Pomorians consider him as a saint, and worship his image. He was succeeded by two brothers, of the name of Myschtski, whose ancestor, a nobleman of Novgorod, settled in Povenetz, in the reign of Bazil Shouiski.

A parish clerk, of the name of Theodosius Wassilieff, eleven or twelve years after the establishment of the Pomorians, instituted the sect of the Theodosians, by putting on the cross the inscription I.N.R.I. (Jesus Nazarinus Rex Judæorum) which the Pomorians reject. He retained the purification of food bought of heretics, a custom already falling into decay, which consists in making holes in the ovens that the divine goodness might pass through them.

A peasant, named Philip, after having assumed the character of a monk, aspired to the office of Superior of the convent of Wygoretzk, and failing in his attempt, persuaded about fifty of the monks to forsake the convent, and go and establish another some few leagues off. It was here that they perished in the flames, when Samarin came to summon them to surrender; but their partizans spread through all Russia, and particularly in Siberia.

The Congregation of the Saviour derive their name from the circumstance of their depending solely on the Redeemer for the redemption of their souls,

having renounced every kind of sacrament. Hence they refuse a second baptism.

The Novogenis go to the established church to be married, but on their return they ask pardon of their brethren for that step, and are despised on that account by the other sects, and especially by the Theodosians.

In 1771, at the time of the great plague in Moscow, the Theodosians requested permission of the government to establish an hospital, which they carried into effect in Préobrajensk. Ambrosius, the Metropolitan of Moscow, opposing them, was poisoned. The influx of patients was great, but instead of following the sanitary laws, the Theodosians thought only of gaining proselytes, and baptizing the sick in cold water, they prodigiously increased the mortality. After the plague, the hospital was converted into a convent for both sexes. Its rules were copied from those of Vygoretsk. The chapel was adorned with all the images purchased of a priest of Moscow, who lost his gown on that account.

From Moscow the Theodosians spread as far as Petersburg, where they had for a long time a common peasant as their pastor, who could scarcely read and could not write: when their number was increased they obtained at their request, ministers from the Cloister of Préobrajensk.

The Heretics in general, when in their church, are habited in a loose long dress, called by Russians *the*

Caftan, to which they are not allowed to wear a belt. All of them use amulets, and they spread out a square rug on which they put their hands when they prostrate themselves. They do not suffer the Niconians to worship their images, for the very touch of a Niconian is considered pollution, so that an image kissed by a Niconian is instantly knocked to pieces, or consigned to the flames. They wear long beards, having an antipathy to a shaved chin, or as they call it, a scraped chin.

Heretics neither take wine nor smoke tobacco, which they leave to the ungodly. With this abstinence, there is a dreadful debauchery among them. They live with their women in common, the children seldom knowing their fathers. Ignorance and abandonment is the lot of these poor little creatures; they are only baptized when grown up; till then they never frequent a place of worship, and continue destitute of religious notions. There is a sect in the north among which the husbands live with their wives as long as they bear them daughters, but leave them as soon as they bear a son, that they may not have any sons to deliver up as recruits.

In the history of the Popovstchina, the Wetkas are the most worthy of notice. There were two popes, Kosma and Stephen, who founded the congregation of the Wetkas on the estate of a Pole of the name of Khaletzki, on the banks of the Wetka. One of their successors, Theodosius, a monk of Kylsk, was the

first to introduce the custom of accepting popes ordained according to the new mode. It was he too who in the year 1695 consecrated the church of that place. The population of Wetka was greatly increased by fugitives from all parts of Russia flocking thither, and so much so as to amount almost to 40,000 inhabitants.

Desirous of making themselves independent of the Russian Church, the Wetkas thought of appointing a bishop for themselves, who might ordain their priests. After several fruitless attempts made at Yassy to accomplish this object, but made by such only as acted in concert with the other schismatics, there came to them an old monk of Kiev, who, after having robbed his convent, fled to Yassy with a forged passport. He there presented to the Metropolitan a letter purporting to be from his Archbishop, as requesting him to ordain Epiphanius bishop. Having obtained this preferment, he went to the Ukraine, and ordained there a great number of priests and monks. The government seized him and banished him to the convent of Solowetzi; but two years after he contrived to escape from that cloister. Being recognized at Kiovia, he was carried back to Moscow and sentenced to hard labour for life. On the road to Siberia, the schismatics rescued him from the hands of the soldiers, and took him back to Wetka. The authorities managed to lay hands on him a second time, but he died at Kiev in 1735.

This adventure necessarily drew the attention of

the Russian government to Wetka. After having exhorted the fugitives to return to their homes, but without success, the Empress Anne gave orders to Colonel Sytine to compel them to return by force of arms. After a year of inquiries Sytine dispersed the congregation of Wetka, enrolled the young men capable of bearing arms, and carried the others back to Russia. Nevertheless they were allowed to take with them their church, which, being built of wood, was taken to pieces, and put on board a vessel on the Sosch.

The convent of Wetka and the relics of its saints, Theodosius, Alexander and Anthony, were burnt.

Five years or more after this devastation, Wetka was repeopled. The convent and church reappeared, and the monks continued to scandalise all the world by their irregular lives. The fugitives at the same time rendered the frontier insecure by committing frequent acts of pillage and depredation. Catherine II, after having in vain granted many amnesties, ordered, in 1714, General Massloff to march against them. The 20,000 inhabitants found in Wetka were this time transported to Siberia, and the new church was carried eighty werstes distant to the heretics of Staradoub, who were established during the reign of Ivan and Peter Alexeiwitsch on the borders of the government of Kiev. These latter were an assemblage of religious fugitives, serfs, and recruits, who had long committed robberies under cover of the dense forests in that country, where those going on

pilgrimage to Wetka found a certain death. They multiplied to such an extent as to have more than twenty churches, a great part of which have since passed over to the established ritual. They made laws for their popes, and obliged them to conform in everything to their orders. If they were refractory, they often sold them to their neighbours for one or two hundred rubles, according to the expense they had been at in obtaining and establishing them. Faith is for them but a mockery, and marriage is nothing sacred in their eyes. Husbands when tired of their wives make them nuns, and wives often do as much to their husbands, by compelling them to submit to the tonsure. The Empress Catherine converted a great part of them, by making them dependent on the bishoprics of the Tauride, and by offering them lands. The present Emperor proceeded with less mildness, obliging them, after his last journey into their country, to build a church at their own cost of the established ritual.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, a deacon of Kirjenetz, of the name of Alexander, separated himself from the other heretics, condemning the use of myrrh for the converts, and recommending a peculiar mode of burning incense. Obliged at first to take to flight, he soon found in the diocese of Nijni-Novgorod numerous partizans, who took the name of *Diacomistes*. Their fanaticism and debauchery obliged Peter I to nominate to the see of Nijni

an old schismatic of the name of Pitrim, who, as a schismatic, was thought likely to exercise a salutary influence over the heretics, but his efforts continued unsuccessful, and the schism extended along the Volga, the Don, and the Kuban.

The advancement of Catherine II to the throne gave birth to the hideous sect of the Skoptzi, which after that time multiplied so much. It mixes up politics with mysticism, confounds Peter III and Jesus Christ, and commits self-mutilation. The late Minister of the Interior, M. Perovski, proceeded against this sect with some success.

The heretics hate each other almost as much as they do the Niconians. A Theodosian would not drink out of the same cup that a Pomorian had drunk out of. Those who admit marriage are not accounted so holy as those who disapprove of it. Some of them have openly declared themselves schismatics, and have acknowledged themselves as such to the government, and in consequence pay a double tax, a proceeding which gains them little respect from the other fanatics. But, having for the most part neither priests nor parish registers, they are with difficulty subjected to taxation and military service.

Rigorous measures are in general calculated to increase sects, rather than to bring back the scattered sheep to the fold. The Philippons, rendered fanatical by persecution, carry a dagger concealed in their boots, in order to put an end to their existence,

rather than surrender themselves alive to the authorities.

We have seen from the above to what fanaticism, united to ignorance, may lead ; for it is not errors of judgment which have produced all these sects, but an obstinate determination to remain faithful to customs which time had naturally banished.

Spurning every innovation, the Russian heretics were soon without worship and without faith ; and not having opened their minds to the light of civilization, they have fallen into the abyss of anarchy and immorality. There is in these facts more than one subject for deep reflection.

We have designedly avoided mentioning the Doukhoborzi till now, as they cannot be considered similar to the Schismatics ; for they do not found their faith on any text of the Holy Scriptures as the heretics do. Nor are they even Christians, contenting themselves to worship a holy Spirit in temples deprived of images. This sect, which sprung up in Germany, has spread very much in Russia, and particularly in the south.

The government exerts itself to the utmost in these matters, alternately employing mildness and severity. It punishes the propagators with severity whenever it happens to lay hold of them. The police officers do not spare the cane, and also make use of the cat-o'-nine-tails ; the governors have recourse to prisons and irons ; the archbishops employ the united

means of persuasion and penitence ; such as, for instance, the punishment of the salt herring, given as the only food without anything to allay the thirst. The money profusely spent by the heretics for the recovery of their superiors out of the hands of the authorities, often mitigates the rigour of the civil and military officers.

There are, I dare say, no nobles among the schismatics ; as to merchants, the government excluding them from office, contrive to keep many of them in the bosom of the established church, or to bring them back when they have seceded. As to the less barbarous sects, they proceed with clemency, giving them priests to officiate according to the ancient books ; yet, whatever they do, there is a wound which it will be difficult to close. The propaganda of the heretics is powerful, and the ignorance of the Russian peasants is also very great ; it is then from civilization alone that salutary results are to be expected. The fanaticism of these unhappy persons often exceeds all bounds. Metropolitans and priests have been beaten and spit upon during the performance of their official duties. There are more than sixty different sects in Russia, whose peculiarities are not even known to the synod itself. Yet it is worthy of notice, that, whilst the heretics are guilty of dreadful vices, they are ignorant of those with which other Russians are stained—drunkenness, idleness, and recklessness. In general, they are industrious and rich ; and the up-

right functionaries of the crown gain more from them than from the orthodox. The 10,000 schismatics who occupy one of the suburbs of Riga, annually pay, on an average, the president of police there from 13,000 to 20,000 rubles banco.

MENSHIKOFF, ORLOFF, NESSELRODE.

The history of a family is often the history of a country. However, the Menshikoffs, and Orloffs, though the most influential men in Russia, possess no memorial of their existence before Peter I. The founder of the former sold cakes in the streets, when a boy, and that of the latter was a common soldier; but, since then, they have played a principal part in the destiny of Russia.

There is a report that Menshikoff when standing at the door of the Czar's palace was remarked by Peter for his beauty and taken into his service; others say, that the boy, teased by the soldiers, cried, and was called to the palace. Be it as it may, it is certain that the boy became a page, a *minion*, and a favourite of Peter the Great. He never learned to write, and this once saved him from death, for being found guilty of embezzlement, he justified himself by alleging that he did not know what he was signing. But the testimony of the Czar himself, that he saved his life at Poltava, assured his pardon in a more sure way.*

* See Kamenski's *Age of Peter the Great*.

After Peter's death, Menshikoff became all mighty with the Empress Catherine, who had been his servant and mistress before he was made Empress. He was on the point of marrying his daughter Maria to Peter II, who however thought her too thin. Yet this was not the real cause of the marriage not taking place, but the influence of Menshikoff's enemies. The same happened in respect to Princess Dolgorouky, whom Peter II was to have married. Osterman defeated the ambitious aims of both families. Menshikoff was sent to Siberia, his orders being first taken away from him, then his carriage, and afterwards his fortune. Followed by his wife and children to Berezof, the school of misfortune suddenly changed his character, and he became as humble as he was vain before. He died in exile. Dolgorouky came to Siberia when the children of Menshikoff were still there, who, as they were called back to St. Petersburg by Elizabeth, gave up to them their cabin built by their father. Menshikoff's second daughter married the Duke of Curland, and his family had their fortune restored to them.

Orloff was a young Strelitz of 18 years of age when that rebellious corps was broken up, a great many of them being beheaded by Peter I.

When his turn came, with perfect coolness, he pushed the head of the previous victim off the block, and courageously placed his own in its stead. The

Czar struck by his resolution and youth, ordered him to rise, and pardoned him. He became an officer, and his grandsons played a great part under Catherine II. This was indeed an act of fortitude, but at the same time another event took place. A boy of fourteen resolutely laid down his head on the block, and the sovereign executioner pushed him away as unworthy of his axe. The boy went to another block, and being likewise repulsed from it, he boldly placed his head on a third block. The Czar, struck by such determined perseverance, demanded what he would like? "You have," said the boy, "killed my father, my uncle, and my two brothers, therefore kill me too." The Czar threw away his axe, and now disgusted with his own work, he left off this shedding of blood and retired. The Czar made not of this valiant boy another Orloff, nor has even history preserved his name. Two of my ancestors were eyewitnesses of this execution of the Strelitz. Now a Count Orloff is minister of police, and I am in exile.

In the reign of Catherine II, there were four brothers of the Orloff family. Gregory, the eldest, was the first lover of the Empress. Alexis was the second lover, beautiful, and guilty of crimes. He killed Peter III, and Catherine not having punished him proves that that murder was not unwelcome to her.*

* The Princess Woronzof Dashkof, in her *Memoires*, believes that the indignation of Catherine upon the murdering of her imperial consort was a sufficient proof of her innocence. But this opinion of the favourite is not shared by the public.

The Princess Tarakanoff, the daughter of the Empress Elizabeth and Razoumoffsky, was murdered by him in a dreadful way. He obtained her hand, conducted her to a Russian vessel, and having had the hold filled with water, drowned her in it.* Such was the hero of Tchesma!

The present Minister of Marine, Prince Menshikoff, is Nicholas's Falstaff, and is known for his play upon words. "What do you think of my ministry?" asked the Czar of him once. "How is it to succeed?" answered Menshikoff, "with one long arm (the name of Dolgorouky, Minister of War, signifies long arm) and one with only one arm (Bibikoff, Minister of the Interior, has lost an arm)? Adlerberg (Court Minister) is not amiss, but his mien (Mina is the name of his mistress) does not please me."

A French girl in an equestrian troop, obtained the admiration of all Petersburg by her skill in horsemanship. Called to the palace of the Grand Duke Michael, she succeeded in breaking in a vicious horse, that nobody could ride before. "Absurd," cried Menshikoff, "I will also do the same," and forgetting his age, he also mounted, but was thrown, and broke his legs, so that he was for a long time obliged to keep his bed.

When the Duchess of Leuchtenberg, whose

* See CASTEIRA, *La Vie de Catherine II.*

conduct is subject to suspicion, gave birth to a son who was called George, Menshikoff said, "Leuchtenberg has got the George (a Russian order for bravery) without having been in action."

He obtained a name in war by taking Anape; at Varna, an exhausted ball rolled over both his feet, when he was taking a pinch of snuff.

He has talent and ambition, ambition perhaps more than talent. You may see him sometimes in Petersburg on horseback in naval uniform, with white hair, sallow face, and a soldier's moustaches.

Count ORLOFF is one of the tallest and strongest men in Russia, and is on both these accounts liked by the Emperor.

He was Commander of the Horseguards at the time Nicholas came to the throne. His brother, Michael, being in the conspiracy, he went with his regiment first for the defence of the new sovereign, and the Winter Palace* at the 14-26 December 1825.

* This calls to my mind an anecdote that throws more light on the Czar's littleness of spirit. Nicholas said once to Tchernisheff, Minister of War at that time, "Why do you never put me down in the service list? You may do so." The embarrassment of the minister was very great, but after having consulted first one and then another, he brought to his Majesty the printed list unfilled up, saying that he did not know how to fill it up. "It is very easy," answered the Czar. "*Birth!*—insert son of the Grand Duke. *Fortune*—40,000 peasants. *Campaigns*—Defence of the Winter Palace on the 14th of December, 1825; Siege of Varna."

This was the reason of his gaining favour.* He was the friend of the Emperor before he became, after the death of Count Benkendorf, Minister of Police. In 1829, he drew up the treaty of Adrianople. In 1831, he went to the rebels in the military colonies at Staria Russia, spoke to them, and when a young soldier endeavoured to explain to him the causes of discontent, Count Orloff knocked him down with a blow of his fist, and killed him. This personal strength made such an impression on those primitive people, that the insurrection ceased, and 12,000 soldier-colonists were sent to Siberia.

Count Orloff accompanied the Czar to London and Italy in 1844, and on his return, accepted, not without some repugnance, the post of Chief of the Gendarmes. The Petroshevsky's club having been denounced by Perorsky, the Minister of Interior, and not by Orloff, and General Politkorsky's embezzlement having been made known only by his taking his own life, proved clearly enough the *idleness* of the Minister of Police, but all was insufficient to deprive him of his master's favour, and we have seen him sent to Vienna and Berlin to secure the alliance of those two courts. He did not succeed; and the Czar ordered the regiments bearing the names of the Emperor of Austria and of the King of Prussia to take their ancient names again.

* He saved his brother, who was only ordered to live in Moscow; but afterwards he did nothing for his children.

On the appointed day, they went to the place of exercises, and upon their Colonels saying, “Laths, you would not wish to bear your present names any longer?” they cried out, as military tools, “No.” At command, they tear off their shoulder-pieces, others are sowed on, which had already been prepared; but, upon the Empress’s weeping, and entreating the Czar not to quarrel with her brother, the King of Prussia, the names of the two sovereigns were restored to them.

Public opinion charged Orloff with having poisoned Diebitsch and the Grand Duke Constantine. History will, perhaps, exculpate him—Diebitsch may have taken poison himself, or have died of the cholera, after he knew of his dismissal. The rewards given to the governor and the surgeon who attended Constantine in his last hours are not sufficient proofs of Orloff’s having inherited the receipt of the *strong potion*, or of any secret powder from Alexis Orloff, who even is not a direct ancestor of the councillor of Nicholas.

CHARLES ALBERT, Count Nesselrode, was born in 1770, on board an English vessel in sight of Lisbon. His parents were Germans in the Russian service, and as there was no Protestant minister in the vessel, he was baptized according to the Anglican rite. England therefore, may claim the honour of reckoning him among her citizens.

Pope Gregory XVI, anticipating a visit of the Count to Rome, said, "I must be watchful of M. de Nesselrode; he combines four or five different nationalities." The relations of the Russian Minister are Westphalian Counts and Counts of the Holy Empire, and that is the reason why he has constantly refused Russian titles. He was intended for the navy. The Emperor Paul I said to him one day that he had the cut of a diplomatist, and the Count entered accordingly the walks of diplomacy. Paul, therefore, was not so foolish as he has been said to be; he happened to be a physiognomist.

The young diplomatist served under Count Stäselburg, as secretary to the Russian Embassy, at the Hague, and at Paris under Markof, where he learned to write French correctly enough, but without elegance. He has never learned Russian, and in fact is only able to write his name in that language. However, in that respect he is certainly superior to those who are reduced to the necessity of making a cross for their signature.

Count Nesselrode owes his successful career to his wife, the daughter of Gourieff, Minister of Finance, who was very ugly, but very rich—very intellectual, and very influential, in consequence of the position of her father. Having been refused, on account of her plainness, by several Russian *élégants*—Count Moussin Pushvin among the rest—she offered her hand to Count Nesselrode, whose abilities she

esteemed, and whose career she undertook to advance. She also played a prominent part in the administration of foreign affairs; so much so, indeed, that it was generally supposed it was she who directed her husband. That suspicion, however, was only true, so far as regarded the distribution of offices. Whoever incurred her displeasure was sure to fail, and whoever was fortunate enough to deserve her favour might calculate upon promotion. A certain method of obtaining it was by little gifts which betoken friendship. She was particularly fond of objects of fine art—pictures and statues. Her death gave hopes of the fall of her husband, but nothing came of it, and proof was soon afforded that she was not the pervading spirit of his acts. There was even more impartiality in the bestowing of offices. The Count does not much like changing his *employés*, but remains constantly faithful to the same. For the rest, of all Russian Ministers, he is the most illiberal in his rewards to his subordinates.

Count Nesselrode is not now considered as a diplomatist of the first order, and that is not only the result of his subordinate position with regard to the Czar, but of his natural talents. Metternich and Pozzo di Borgo are justly placed above him. The communications of these two statesmen have exerted an important influence upon the politics of Nicholas, who, as was seen in 1848, paid very dearly for the correspondence of Count Metternich. I even believe

that at the moment I am writing, it is still the latter who directs the external policy of the two allied empires.

M. de Nesselrode does not like the Russians, and before all others he devotes himself to advance German interests. At the Congress of Vienna he served the interests of Prussia as well as Hardenberg; and in 1849 he served Austria in effecting the decision of the armed intervention in Hungary. He hastened the fall of Bonaparte in 1814, and was so well paid by Louis XVIII for his services in that respect—he and Pozzo di Borgo—that he must have acquired a decided taste for acts of this kind, and be disposed to bring back the Bourbons to France a second time, in place of Napoleon III.

Nesselrode has always shown himself the champion of autocracy, and the foe of liberalism. It was under the bugbear of pretending the latter, that he fought and undermined Capo d'Istria. An Anglican in religion, he saw no necessity why Russia should labour for the emancipation of Greece; and he poisoned the last days of the Emperor Alexander the Pious, who would have raised Greece, but whom Nesselrode hardened, by representing the Greek revolution as the very focus of liberalism.

There is no state, as remote even as Spain, which he has not endeavoured to bring within the pale of absolutism. He followed the Emperor Nicholas in the campaign of Turkey, and wears in his button-

hole, with considerable ostentation, the medal of that campaign, by the side of the Cross of St. Andrew, embroidered on his vest. That is not the only way in which he pays his court to the Czar. He almost detests France as much as Nicholas hates it, its coiffures, and the Parisian modes. He sacrificed Poland to flatter Nicholas rather than the Russian nation, which did not demand it.

The son of the Minister, Count Dmitry Nesselrode, did not know one word of Russian before entering himself at the University of St. Petersburg, where he made only tolerable progress. The Emperor speaking to him one evening, in Russian, perceived his ignorance, and ordered him to learn the language of a country which lavished benefits on his family with such a prodigal hand. Afterwards he married the Countess Farodovska, but his conduct at Paris was so loose, that the Emperor found it necessary to order their separation.

THE RUSSIAN AND GERMAN PARTIES.

If we take a French pamphlet published in Leipsic in 1846, called *Russia invaded by the Germans*, we shall there find that it was the first Romanoffs who invited the Germans into Russia, and favoured them in every way; and that those of the younger branch, the Holstein-Gottorps, on the contrary, did all they could to foster a spirit of nationality. This puts us

in mind of a joke of General Bistrom, a German by birth, who commanded the infantry of the Russian guard. Knowing the little liking that Russian soldiers have for German generals, he said one day, during the campaign in Poland, in front of the *corps*, " Soldiers, it is false to say I am a German ; but there is a German"—pointing to Prince Dolgorouki, who happened to be passing at the moment, and the joke made him popular. We must take the contrary of the assertion of the official author as the truth. We see very few Germans under Peter the Great. Admiral Lefort was a French Swiss ; Bruce, the author of the *Cabalistical Almanac*, was a Scotchman. Ostermann, a student, whom Peter found in an hotel in Holland, and whom he took into his favour for his musical talent, was almost the only German who rose into any eminence at the Russian court during his reign. The invasion of the public service by the Germans did not commence until after the conquest of the Baltic provinces ; but even then Catherine had Derjavins and Dmitrieffs (two Russian poets) for her Ministers, and Potemkin and Orloff for her favourites. She had too much sense to prefer the Germans, who have ousted the Russians under the last two reigns.

There are only three German provinces in all the fifty-three governments of which Russia consists ; but, instead of the proportion of German to native officials in the Russian service being as three to fifty-

three, it is rather the reverse. The heads of departments, and the ambassadors, are nearly all Germans. Cancrin, the late Minister of Finances, a Jew, and Nesselrode, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, a Westphalian, have systematically preferred them to Russians. The Germans show more assiduity and attention to work, a virtue which the Russians ridicule by the German word "Sitzefleisch;" but, above all, they possess more devotion to the Government, and less love for Russia than the natives. The Marquis de Paulucci, a Genoese in the Russian service, used to say, "I serve Alexander Paulovitch, and not Russia;" and, in the same way, the Germans serve the Emperor, and trouble themselves very little about the interests of Russia, to which they do not belong by affection. Accordingly the Government, which finds in them blind and docile instruments, prefers them to the Russians. General Yermoloff, the chief of the Russian party under the Emperor Alexander, once told him the only favour he asked was that he would make him a German. The army showed its aversion for Germans on more than one occasion during the war against the French. The Russians allowed themselves to be beaten at Friedland, because they would not obey Benningsen. In 1812, the Emperor was obliged to replace Barclay de Tolly by Marshal Kutusoff. Diebitsch was unable to acquire the glory that was reserved for his successor Paskiewitch.

The Grand Duke Constantine has taken upon him-

self the, for him, easy and useful part of leader of the Russian party, and has marked the return to former usages by furnishing his palace in the Slavonian style.

The Russian party is divided into three sections—Young Russia, Old Russia, and the Slavophilists. Young Russia desires the exclusion of the Germans, but, at the same time, it is desirous that Russia should be brought closer to the West in its feelings. and institutions, and it demands continuous reforms and entire freedom in all things. Old Russia desires no freedom, not even that of the serfs. Prince Menshikoff is the representative of this section ; his hatred for Count Nesselrode is only equalled by his contempt for Count Kleinmichel, head of the Department of Roads and Ways, and the discreet confidant of the Emperor's amours. The Slavophilists are, for the most part, literary men, who disapprove of the reforms of Peter the Great, believing that Russia would have done better if she had been allowed to progress in her natural course, and that she cannot too soon return to the manners of her former days. In addition, they entertain a dislike for Nicholas, who is a thorough German. It is probable that the Grand Duke Constantine will exclude the Young Russians from his adherents, and compose his party of the balance of the Old Russians and the governmental Slavophilists.

We may see, from all this, how little foundation there is for the reasoning of those who talk about the

German party representing progress and civilization; and the Russian party reaction or conservatism. There are even Socialists amongst the Young Russians, as was proved by the banishment of the friends of Petroszewski in 1849, and the Germans in Russia are fonder of office than of banishment. It is a strange fact that in the army German officers flog the soldiers more than the Russians do, and are more opposed to new ideas. Application is their chief talent, and Talleyrand said that zeal was worth nothing. As for the Russians, if they want perseverance, they have other and far superior qualities. Nicholas, however, is jealous of talent; he dislikes poets and banishes authors. He wants the whole Russian people to be brought down to the level of his own common-place. Heaven has only permitted him to succeed in half of his design. If the people love him, it is because they do not know that he is a German, the Holstein-Gottorps having always been careful to call themselves Romanoffs. Of these, however, Peter II was the last male descendant, without speaking of Ivan, who was strangled by Catherine in the dungeons of Schlüsselburg.

The embassy of Prince Menshikoff has been represented as a triumph for the Russian party, and a check for Count Nesselrode; and indeed it was a victory of the ecclesiastical party supported by the Czar himself, who, advancing in age, becomes more and more fanatical.

THE FOREIGN PRESS AND THE RUSSIAN
DETECTIVE POLICE.

If there be anything which reflects honour on the press, it is the remarkable fact that absolute governments stand more in fear of it than constitutional governments do. Accountable to no one, and wielding unbounded power, nevertheless their moral responsibility is only rendered the greater thereby; and as, on the other hand, the truth is disagreeable to them, and the publication of abuses may cause them embarrassment, they employ every means to suppress the source of these annoyances—the press. “You cost us a good deal of money,” said an Austrian diplomatist confidentially to a Slavonian writer hostile to the House of Hapsburg; “you cost us a good deal of money to cut the ground from under your feet, and bar your access to the *Augsburg Gazette*.”

The *Courrier de L’Orient*, a Maltese journal, opposed to Russian views, was edited by a Frenchman. The Russian police contrived to introduce into his service a Greek servant, who suddenly left Malta on the very day his master died, as it was believed, by poison.

M. Tolstoï receives 20,000 francs a-year for refuting in Paris the articles which appear in the French press against Russia. How does he manage it? Formerly he used to write to the *Quotidienne*, and subsequently to the *Union*. The *Satan* cut him out of

the first journal, and the *République* the second. Bonaparte, however, has very much simplified his work for him by muzzling the press generally.

Prince Dolgorouky published a pamphlet at Paris on the Russian nobility, in which it was proved that there are thirty families in Russia more noble than the house of Holstein Gottorp, which occupies the throne. He was forthwith ordered to return to Russia, and on his arrival he was exiled to Viatka.

The Marquis de Custine having written his remarkable work, *Russia in 1839*, Tolstoi and Gretch strove to see which could refute it best—that is to say, very badly, both of them.

When *Russia under the autocrat, Nicholas I.* appeared, the Russian agents abroad were ordered to pass it over in silence. There are some revelations which it does not do to make much noise about.

Certain foreign journals are interdicted altogether, and are not allowed to enter Russia in any form. All undergo a very severe censorship. The *Journal des Débats* itself is sometimes wholly suppressed, or is delivered in a mutilated state, with hostile articles cut out or defaced. It is only the Foreign Embassies that receives their journals intact.

In the department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at St. Petersburg, there is one office specially charged with the duty of making extracts from the foreign newspapers. The articles hostile to Russia are copied in a very large and distinct manuscript,

the Emperor disliking to read print, and are immediately sent to the palace.

When a foreign journal displays a systematic course of hostility against Russia, if it is influential, means are used to induce it to change its views. But how is this to be done? Russian diplomacy is powerful, and some fine morning the editor of such a paper receives an invitation to dinner from some high and mighty personage. After such an honour, the Amphytrion takes him aside and addresses him in something like these terms—"You have on your journal a scoundrel who attacks Russia; it would please me very much if you were to put a stop to his calumnies. Do me this favour," and a valuable ring is then slipped on to our editor's finger.

At Paris they are very fond of Russian rings and of Russian roubles also; but it is not everybody who likes them that gets them. One journal waited so long in vain for a Russian gratification, that at last it came to the determination to go into opposition to the Czar in earnest!

When the Emperor Nicholas visited London in 1845, seeing himself badly received by the people, who even took the liberty of hissing him, he said to Sir Robert Peel, "Your newspapers have made me disliked by your people." To this the Premier, like a skilful statesman, replied, "They want a good treaty of commerce; our people are very intelligent, and they are only hissing the Russian tariff." The Russian tariff was lowered soon after!

The English papers have, until lately, talked about Russia as though it were a *terra incognita*, and the Russian police have only been too happy to let them go on in their ignorance. There is, however, an important organ, which is believed to derive its inspirations from Muscovite sources. I have sought for information on the point, and was told, "I can answer for myself, but I cannot give an assurance that there may not be some one among us who is open to influence."

In Germany the journals have not the same weight as elsewhere. The *Journal de Francfort* is justly considered as the organ of Russia. The official and semi-official Prussian *Gazettes* naturally serve the Court of St. Petersburg, as being near related to that of Berlin. The *Augsburg Gazette* stands too much in awe of Austria to dare to say much against Russia, and so it often serves the latter without receiving any consideration for so doing ; and of course, those who work for nothing get nothing for their work.

The secret police is not a Russian invention, but a French imitation. We owe it to Napoleon, called the Great by persons who discover greatness in massacre and oppression. There existed a secret office of inquiry under Elizabeth, but it was not until the reign of Alexander that the secret police was fully organised. Two men especially played a prominent part in this pitiable service. Kotzebue in Ger-

many, and Sturza in the rest of Europe. The reports made by the former were not of any great importance; what chiefly exasperated the patriotic youth of Germany against him was the demoralisation propagated by his writings. The corporation of the *Burschenschaften* of Heidelberg resolved to free the world from such a monster. Sand, the youngest and handsomest of the students, offered himself to execute the verdict of his comrades. The next day he presented himself at the residence of the dramatist and Russian spy at Mayence, handed him a letter, and as he was reading it plunged a dagger in his heart! The Emperor Alexander insisted that Sand should be beheaded, Kotzebue having been a Russian functionary. The fellow-students of Sand marched *en masse* to wrest the victim from his executioners, but they arrived too late—the agents of tyranny had advanced the hour of execution!

A high honour, however, awaited the memory of the sufferer. Pushkin, the Russian Byron, has sung his fate in verses, which are rigorously prohibited in Russia, and his name has been assumed by the first romance writer of France, Madame George Sand.

Demoralisation is one of the chief engines of the Russian Government. It winks at the excess of its officers, knowing that a *Brutus* is not to be looked for from sensualists; it enters Sveaborg and Varna with a golden key; it even confers pensions on men like Diderot and Schmaltz (professor of political

economy at Kharkof, who, on his return to Germany, received a salary *not* to write against Russia) ; but it purchases the secrets of foreign embassies (M. Markof and Colonel Czernyshev having contrived to appropriate some of Napoleon's plans, he ordered them to be pursued, but they could not be caught); and, lastly, it maintains a secret police in all the principal cities of Europe.

"The police of Paris costs us more than the police of St. Petersburg," once said to me the nephew of the Russian Minister of Police, when I was yet under the rod of the Russian Government.

Another time a functionary of Louis Philippe told me, "We cannot suffer the presence of secret foreign agents in Paris; we have quite trouble enough with the accredited and official agents." Nevertheless, the Russian secret police performs its functions as freely at Paris as at London—at Vienna, as at Berlin. Some day, perhaps, we may describe its organisation in London, especially if Lord Palmerston will let us know his opinion of the opinion expressed by the French functionary mentioned above.

Even Russian diplomacy is not free from the spy system. All the private reports of the various Russian Ambassadors abroad to the Minister at St. Petersburg, contain a bundle of "miscellaneous articles," which are all only so many denunciations of persons great and small.

A special office has been established in London for

the foreign police. We do not know whether this is according to the British constitution, but at least they ought not to permit competition.

Count Orloff, on opening the direction of the secret police in Russia, exclaimed, "I cannot see the utility of this institution." Surely there has been time enough since then for him to perceive its evils. The Emperor himself has been compelled to declare that, "if a student makes an idle jest, I am acquainted with it immediately; but when the people rob me under my very nose, I am the last to know of it."

We read in the memoirs of Sir Hudson Lowe, that Louis XVIII paid the *Times* 60,000 francs a-year to support the Bourbons. But now that powerful journal is too rich to be paid by any other power, than the public.

Dr. H—— who was lost at sea, after having made important extracts from the archives of the Diet at Frankfort, also learned from the same source, that the *Augsburg Gazette* was in the pay of Austria. Now, matters in this respect are much worse in Russia than in Germany. Here is a small proof until we can give better. The Grand Duke Constantine used to bind together all the letters intercepted in the Russian Post Office, and had about twelve or fifteen volumes of them in his library, which formed his favourite study. The Prussian Minister, to whom he was one day exhibiting them, said, "We read letters too, but we do not keep them. You are farther advanced than we are."

RUSSIAN EMIGRATION.

Vernimm! von allen jenen Millionen
 Die du gestürzt in Jammer und in Klage,
 Die du geschleppt in fürchterliche Zonen,
 Von Allen, denen du verkürzt die Tage,
 War jeder Mensch wie du, der Seelenwäger
 Hat sie gewogen auf derselben Wage:
 Bald stehen sie Alle gegen dich, die Kläger,
 Wann ihre Zähren sich zum Strom vermälen,
 Aus dem du schöpfen sollst als Wasserträger.

PLATEN.

When there is no liberty of opinion, no liberty of the press in a country, and no prospect of speedily obtaining any, men of liberal sentiments, for whom thought is life (*vivere est cogitare*), ought to go to some foreign country for the purpose of letting from thence their voice be heard.

Scarcely had I begun to publish, when in Paris, in the year 1843, a work upon political economy, when the Czar called me back to Russia. I declined obeying, and emigration being a crime in Russia, Nicholas condemned me to hard labour.

“Russia under Nicholas” was the commencement of my hard labour, and my answer to the arbitrariness of the Northern despot.

“Russia and the Russians” by N. TOURGENEVE, who had been Secretary of State in Russia, and who having taken part in the conspiracy of 1825, remained in England, and afterwards settled in France, appeared in 1846.

MICHEL BAKOUNIN, in 1843, when in Switzerland, refused also to go back to Russia, and was sentenced as contumacious to the Siberian mines. He delivered in 1847, in Paris, a speech in favour of Poland, at the anniversary of the Polish Revolution. Expelled on that account from France, he went in 1848 to Germany, agitated Austria for the independence of the Slavonians, and was delivered up by the Cabinet of Vienna to that of St. Petersburg, after the Russian intervention in Hungary.

SAZONOFF declared himself also emigrating in 1849.

Mr. HERZEN, a Russian literary character, under the name of *Iskander*, was exiled for eight years to Viatka for his opinions; when in Nizza, in 1850, he refused to obey a summons to return to Russia. Having succeeded in saving his fortune, he has come to England and established a Russian printing-office in London.

In his pamphlets, he is a warm supporter of the Russian communism, discovered, as he says, by Haxtausen.

A gentleman of Danish blood, a pupil of the Lyceum at Zarskoë Selo, emigrated in 1849, and also highly reproaches Nicholas with being of Holstein origin.

An officer of the Imperial guards, M. S——, having had his brother innocently persecuted, for awhile also, to avoid a similar fate, renounced his native country.

Hitherto the emigration has been confined to lite-

rary pursuits, but its protestation against despotism will not remain without effect.

Yet far from being supported by the powers, it met only with persecution from them. Nicholas was after the year 1849 the God of reactionary Europe, and his adversaries were sent away from France, Piedmont, and even from Belgium. Now, everybody will agree that a protestation against the follies of Nicholas was a most holy duty.

THE UNITED STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE.

I have always thought that the extinction of nationalities is the destination of mankind, who have no benefits to expect from the preservation of the Tower of Babel;* but the world is ruled by magnetism, and for a long time the principle of nationality will have more magnetical strength than cosmopolitanism, which hitherto lives only in certain isolated minds. However the best way to arrive at this final aim is for nations to be united together. There is so little difference between the Slavonian tribes, that their union would profit each and all. Austria, Russia, Turkey, composed each of a great many nations, are also United States, but that is an union effected by violence, not by interest, and we desire to substitute an union founded on civilization and conviction. The German Austrians belong naturally to

* The *sophis* (Arabian philosophers) taught that evil had entered into the world through ignorance, which causes error and disunion. Four travellers, said they, of four different nations were going to take their meals together. Each of them asked in his own language for something which the others did not understand, and they quarrelled, and were ready to fight, until a man who understood the four languages, brought a basket of grapes, and a good understanding was reestablished among them, for they had all asked for the same thing in their different languages.

Germany, and must form a part of it, so also the German provinces of Russia, but the Slavonian tribes shared now by Austria, Turkey, and Russia, must be united together.

I do not say with a Western statesman: "Let Croats and Tcheks sleep till they die." Every nation which wishes for life, has an incontestable right to it. I have no exaggerated notion of the value of the Slavonian tribes, but I cannot approve of Damjanig the Hungarian General's saying; "I would exterminate all the Servians, and afterwards hang myself, in order that not a single man of that nation might remain." The Slavonians who fought against the Hungarians here deserved liberty, but hatred proceeding from oppression prolonged for centuries animated them against the Magyars, while the Slovaks kept with them and did them great service.

A laudable intellectual and literary activity is now progressing among the Tcheks and Illyrians.

Why should they like German better than the Polish and Russian languages related to their own? Now Polish literature is lost with Poland's independence, and the greatest and best part of the Russian literature is opposed to the spirit of the Russian government. The community of belief between the Russians and Greek Slavonians is another reason for the sympathies manifested by the latter to the Russian literature. The Slavonians sympathise with the Poles in their misfortune as it is similar to their own,

but Russia being the only powerful Slavonian State now, the Slavonians naturally expect help from her. Yet, they are democrats by instinct and by their institutions, and would be in favour of those who would insure them liberty besides religion and nationality, whilst Russia has, since the ascension of the Holstein line, become less Slavonian and more German, both in her spirit and tendencies. On the other part, Austria is more a Slavonian than a German State, the proportions of the two races there differing more even than in Turkey. There are only 4,000,000 Germans to 15,000,000 Slavonians.

If Rumelia, or European Turkey, should, with the times, wish to form a part of the United States of Eastern Europe, no objection can be made for its admission. A voluntary union is flattering, and profitable for all contracting parties.

Look on North America ! How many stars are attracted to the American constellation ? how many parties in the southern republics have a star for their hope and for their banner ? Even "the children of Cuba," in order to become free from Spain, are suppliants to the Americans, though they would have to exchange their Spanish politeness for American rudeness. When every war will be considered as a civil war, when all hatred and antipathy between nations will disappear, how great will not mankind be ! And now, that being once our aim, let not men of thought waver, but constantly pursue it. *Vir propositi tenax !*

God gives assistance to a powerful conviction, but the aim does not purify and sanctify the means, and the friends of Nations shall have nothing in common with their foe—with the Czar.

APPENDIX.

We present here an extract from Major Angelo PERRONI's letter from Constantinople. The Major is an old officer formerly in the service of the French Empire, who served Austria 30 years in the Nostiz regiment, and during the war of Italian Independence in 1848, commanded the Lombard Dragoons :—

“ Do not believe newspapers. Their correspondents see the Eastern question but from their own point of view.

“ The Turkish government is bound hand and foot by the Allies, who treat the Turks like marmots. The Western diplomacy throws the Porte right and left, and her division seems unavoidable.

“ Dilatoriness and venality characterise the Turkish administration.

“ Omer Pasha has every quality requisite for an excellent commander-in-chief, but he is a renegade, and as such, he mistrusts everybody, and will do every thing himself, which is an absolute impossibility. The soldiers are of the best will, but the officers are stupid. A certain BACCIA BULBULI, who had pleased the Sultan as a singer in the seraglio, was sent to the Danube as the commander of a division, and there is no staff, thanks to the jealousy of Omer Pasha. Lord Redcliffe has acceded to the formation of a Strangers' Legion, but that will take a long time to accomplish, and the Refugees are in doubt whether they shall not support the Greek insurrection. They would, of course, do it, if they were persuaded that they should be fighting for liberty.

“ Austria demands repeatedly to occupy Servia, Bosnia, and Little Wallachia, with 150,000 men, and the Russians have already an imposing army of 200,000 men in the Principalities.

“ In respect to the Christians, the demands of the Allies from the Porte are already more extensive than that of the Russians have ever been.”

RUSSIA AND TURKEY.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"The author is often quoted as an authority."—*Weekly Dispatch*.

"Indeed this book is anecdotal throughout, even in its historical facts—and will serve better than any work yet published to make the dark side of the Russian character, and the dark deeds of the Russian Government, known in Western Europe."—*Economist*.

"Great deal of matter in few pages, and many interesting chapters."—*Press*.

"It is full of new information and profound views, and the English is the best English any foreigner has ever written. The book is the more valuable that the author's position renders him impartial."—*Liverpool Journal*.

"M. Golovin describes the present state of the Russian serfs well and vigorously."—*Critic*.

THE NATIONS
OF
RUSSIA AND TURKEY
AND
THEIR DESTINY.

BY
IVAN GOLOVIN,
AUTHOR OF 'The Caucasus.'

PART II.

Падешь ты гордый Вавилонъ!
Ужъ Божій гнѣвъ тебѣ пророки
Давно сулить со всѣхъ сторонъ.
Ты глухъ пока на ихъ упреки,
Надг҃іиной злобой напыщенъ.
Но кары Божія жестоки!
Бѣдой гроанѣтъ народный стонъ.....
Падешь ты гордый Вавилонъ!

* * *

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REVIEW OF BOOKS ON RUSSIA.

WHILST the Russians say, "Give us foreign goods, even if bad ; away with our own, even if good,"* the fellow-countrymen of Adam Smith, the advocate of Free Trade, prefer their own manufactures, even if bad, to foreign, however good. This is peculiarly improper in respect to literary productions. A foreigner may judge of a country impartially, but he must first know it and its language.

A Frenchman says, that there is a pretty sort of dogs in Russia called *Sabaki*. That is as much as to say, that in France there is a pretty sort of women called *femmes, sabaki* being the general name in the Russian language for dogs.

M. Texier says, that Paaskievitch is a Pole by birth, whilst he belongs to a Russian family of Mohilev.

M. ALEXANDER DUMAS, in his *Mémoires d'un maître d'armes*, says, that one must pay 10 rubles for a public bath in Russia ; whilst that luxury may be had for twopence.

English authors, are more conscientious. Mr. HILL'S *Travels in Siberia*, is a very interesting work. Still we the more regret that the list of Russian authors is so incorrect, and especially as it was given to the author by the daughter of a political exile in Siberia. The abuse of the word *Gospodin* (Mr.) is so great, that even

* From Gribóedov's play 'Suffering through Intellect.'

Monsieur Denta and Herr Struve are also called Gospodin. Who under *Goorurski Pravlaysnia* would understand *Gorskoie Pravlenie*?

In page 373, vol. 1, he says: "Indeed he (a political exile in Krasnoyarsk) informed me, that he had received favours at the hands of the government, in regard to his family, that were much above his expectations, and that two of his sons that were born before the event for which he had been banished, and who, by the law, should suffer perpetual exile, had received commissions in the army."

No such law exists, but the law says, that children born prior to the father's condemnation, preserve their rights, and those born afterwards, share their father's lot.

There is a pamphlet by Mr. NEWMANN in German, entitled: *The emigration of 40,000 Armenians*. Mr. CURZON in his *Armenia*, doubles that number, and every one after him repeats the same error.

We have books on the Caucasus with drawings representing Schamyl with a helmet on. He never wears one, but a *fez* or a turban.

Mr. Custine's work has been corrupted in English by abbreviations, made perhaps without the consent of the author. Of course, there is a constant need of addition and subtraction, in order to know whether he speaks more against or for Russia; but it is this very thing which constitutes the merit of the work, by proving the author's impartiality.

We must employ a more difficult rule of arithmetic, in order to know whether GUBOVSKY's *Russia as It Is*, published in New York, is favourable or hostile to the Czar and to Czarism. His former works in French *The Truth as to Russia*, published in Paris, and *Russia and Civilization*, published in Russia, at the Emperor's

expense, are an idolatry of autocracy. The former work was rewarded by a permission given him to come to Russia—(sentenced to death for participating in the Polish Revolution, he was living in Paris as a refugee); the latter obtained for him an employment under the Police Minister, Count Benckendorf. Again disgusted with absolutism, he secretly left Russia, and went to America, where his *Panszarism* is become a *Panslavism*, and where he makes no secret of being a renegade to Poland. But of what service can men of such tenebrousness be to the cause of freedom? He may change his opinions as often as his coat, but the public cannot accept him as a guide. According to his new work, Nicholas is a rancorous tyrant, but a fine man, whose education was conducted with care, and who was in the first ten years of his reign, glorious and liberal. The Czar is not more thankful for anything, than for compliments paid to his external appearance. If Mr. Storch was his teacher in political economy, he did not profit by him, as the professor himself declared. The campaign of Turkey in 1828, ought not to be called a glorious one, and the ruin of Poland was the work of the first ten years of his reign, but Mr. Gurovsky pays no regard to that, though a Pole by birth.

A valuable pamphlet is that of Mr. ISKANDER or of Mr. ALEXANDER HERZEN, *On the Development of the Revolutionary Ideas in Russia*, written in French. But it is not developed enough, and the ideas should rather be called literary than revolutionary, of the latter there being so few, as to recall to my mind what professor GANTZ, whose lectures I attended in Berlin, said in relation to his stay in Paris in 1830. In the house of General Lafayette, when there was a talk about the revolution, German gentlemen spoke of there having been revolutions in Germany too. The general at last asked what they were, and they came down to mention the flight of the Duke of Darmstadt, carrying away with him the public cash.

Whilst Mr. SHNITZLER's work, *The Secret History of Alexander and Nicholas*, has been translated into English, the far more important work of Mr. NICHOLAS TOURGENEVE, *Russia and the Russians*, is unknown to the English public. It is Russia under the Emperor Alexander. The author did not however fulfil the expectations of his friends, who would like to have found in it some revelations in respect to Araktcheieff, something more about Speransky, and a great deal more about Rylieff, Pestel, Mouravieff, and the other conspirators of 1825. Mr. Tourgeneuff, who was condemned to death for his part in that plot, represents the whole affair as one of no importance. It might seem to him to have been so, but its consequences are still felt, and the liberal generation of young Russia venerate the memory of the martyrs of 1825.

We shall have later the opportunity of speaking of M. OLIPHANT'S and Marshal MARMONT'S works.

THE MAGNA CHARTA OF RUSSIA.

MORE subtle than true was the Frenchman who first said that the Russians are equal in the sight of cane : Russian noblemen cannot be beaten, nor the officers belonging to the fourteen ranks (*tchen*). "The postmasters," being comprised in the last rank, are exempt from the punishment of the cane ; so that a foreigner said once to the Emperor Nicholas, that he might advance therefore the whole empire to the fourteenth rank.

It would be better to say, that the Magna Charta of Russia is the good pleasure or the good digestion of the Czar.* Still Russia had a Magna Charta before any other nation—two houses, the house of the nobles, *Boyarskaiia Duma*, and the House of Commons, *Zemskaiia Duma*. At that time the laws were thus headed: "*Czar prikasal, a Patriarch i Boyare prigovorile*

* Voltaire ascribes the massacres of St. Bartholomew to the bad digestion of the French king, Charles IX.

—the Czar has ordered and the Patriarch and the Boyars have decided. Then soon the name of the patriarch disappeared, and afterwards the Romanof, who had no great taste for such formalities, abolished the whole. Yet a chart for the nobles, *dvorianskaia gramata*, was given by Michael Fedorovitch Romanof. The rights of the nobility were also established by Peter III, who granted them the right to reside in foreign countries, and even to enter into foreign service. Now Nicholas gives passports for emigration only to Poles, and imposes a high tax upon Russians for foreign passports.

Catherine II tried to give Russia a constitution. Deputies were sent for to St. Petersburg from all the nations of the empire, and the Empress's new regulation, *ustav*, was read to them, but signs of liberality having appeared among them, they were sent back home again. In the last years of the reign of Alexander many projects for a constitution were circulated. That of Count Navossilzoff was found among the papers of the late Grand Duke Constantine. Cries of "Constitution for ever!" were heard at the insurrection of the 14th December, 1825.

The nobles and the merchants owe to Cathe-

rine II the right to choose their own officers. The same privilege among the peasants is as ancient as the Russian communes. It would consequently be natural to allow these three classes to send delegates to a parliament. We should then have a constitution like that of Sweden, that is, a representation of classes. Russia has given a constitution to Poland, to the Danubian Principalities, she has supported the constitution of Servia ; is then the turn of the Russians themselves never to come ?

But the middle class has not the importance in Russia that it has in other countries, and the continuance of the difference of classes is contrary to the mind of our age and even to the spirit of Russia. The peasants are able to make a good choice of their chiefs from knowing them well ; but in case of general elections, they would vote for their own landlords. Even in France the voting of peasants has proved fatal.

Another question arises : if the Russian parliament, whatever it might be, vote for the maintenance of the autocracy, we should have nothing further to say ; but if the wife is willing to be beaten by her husband, he may beat her. Though I do not think that that would be the

case, I should not like to leave it to the first house to determine upon the entire constitution, as organic regulations should be laid down.

I must, however, premise something in relation to the Hereditary Grand Duke, who, of course, would have to put it in force. He is said to be of an undecided character, and to be influenced first by one and then by another. A frequent change of ministers lies in the very nature of a constitutional form of government. The national will would show him the men most deserving of his confidence, and his own responsibility and labour would be thereby lessened. Every one speaks of the goodness of his heart. One day, when he said to General Kavelin, "I am afraid of the immense weight which may fall upon my weak shoulders," the General replied, "Thank God that he has given you a good heart to speak as you do." Other courtiers may not appreciate such a disposition, and look for more energy; but the energy of Nicholas is at this moment bringing the greatest calamity upon the nation.

Equality in freedom is the best equality, and freedom is procured for a nation with more difficulty than equality. It would be absurd to refuse the former for want of the latter. When

there is a republic in France, people demand a universal republic; but they turn their eyes to England when she is at the head of European freedom, and desire the spread of her constitution. The leaders of the people must, of course, be guided by their own convictions, but events are more powerful than persons; yet what is possible often overrules what is desirable, and what is better is the enemy of what is good.

Now, to come to the Magna Charta itself, I would propose the following articles:—

Art. 1. Serfdom shall be abolished in the course of one year. The noblemen are requested before that time to enter into some agreement with their serfs for their continuance on their estates. The peasants are invited for their own sakes to form such contracts as will ensure to them one-third of the produce.

Art. 2. Civil ranks are abolished, and the orders are reduced to three—the St. George for the military service, the St. Vladimir for the civil service, and the St. Andreas as the highest order.

Art. 3. Every 50,000 inhabitants shall send a delegate to the metropolis.

Art. 4. The House shall receive the name of

"The Council of the Nation," *Narodnaia Duma*. It shall grant or refuse taxes and decide on war or peace, and revise the political, civil and criminal laws of the empire.

Art. 5. Every man of eighteen years of age shall be an elector, and every one of twenty-one elective.

Art. 6. The sovereign is not responsible, but the ministers.

Art. 7. Opinions are free in whatever way expressed, by speaking, writing, printing, or drawing. This refers to political as well as religious opinions. Every one shall be at liberty to profess his own belief without being liable to persecution or annoyance in any way. This extends also to the past, political opinions or acts being subject to no inquiry.

Art. 10. The punishment of death abolished by the Empress Elizabeth for ordinary crimes is also abolished for political crimes.

Art. 11. In the expectation of the abolishment of the army, it shall consist of volunteers. Only in extraordinary cases can troops be levied by recruiting, after an order from the council of the nation. The army cannot be employed without an order from the said council.

SLAVONIAN RACES OF RUSSIA.

THE RUSSIANS.

Ils m'ont dit : choisis d'être oppresseur ou victime
J'embrassai le malheur, et leur laissai le crime.

CONDORCET.

THE Russians have intermixed with other nations perhaps more than any other people. The Slavonians formed the basis and the heart of the Russian nation. (In respect to their Assyrian origin see the Appendix.)

The Normans, or Russo-Variagians of Rurik, who settled in the country in 862, were few in number, and changed the laws and institutions more than the complexion of the aborigines. I cannot but think that the difference between the Northern and Southern Slavonians, or the Slavonians of the Crimea and those of the Dnieper, or the Novgorodians and Kievlans, was the same then as now. The Novgorodians were a mercantile and colonizing people, and whilst they belonged to the Hanseatic League, they founded Nijni-Novgorod at the Oka, among the Tchouvashes, and Mordvas Viatka among the Tcheremises, and Viatkians. The Skyths, of a Mongolian race, occupied Russia near the Slavonians. The Petchenegues and Polovzis, whom modern Russian researches have

proved to have been Tahtars and Turks, carried on war with the Russians rather than intermingled with them.

The Tahtars conquered Kiev, Riazan, Vladimir, Tver, &c., Novgorod alone escaped their yoke; a great many Kievlans fled beyond the cataracts of the Dnieper, and formed the *Setcha* of the Zaporoges—Cossaques. Yet the Tahtars did not take permanent possession of the country, did not emigrate into Russia, but contented themselves with gathering taxes or with making military excursions, to suppress insubordination. Therefore the contact being but partial, I do not admit the opinion of there being any considerable intermixture between the two races, and of a change in the Russian features through the Mongolian. Tahtar features are to be met with among the Russian nobility more than among the Russian people, and that arises from the great number of Mirzas and Beys, who settled in Russia at different times. However, I am inclined to acknowledge two different Russian types: the one, a pure Slavonian one, having dark hair, with large eyes and a straight nose—the other, with a Tahtar or Finnish admixture, small eyes, a flat nose, and chestnut hair. *Russoi*, in the Russian language, means chestnut. Therefore, the Russian historian, Tatistcheff, says, that the Russians owe their name to the colour of their hair.

The contact with the Laplanders in the north has produced a half Laplandish language.

As to the good effects produced by an intermixture of different races, nothing speaks louder than the fact, that on the frontier of Siberia and Tahtary, the intermixed race is fine, whilst the pure Russian and Tahtar races on both sides, exhibit but a miserable specimen of humanity.

In Russia, as everywhere, the intermixture was on the frontiers, and among the higher classes greater than in the heart of the country or among the people.

The Great Russians ought to be carefully distinguished from "the Malo-Russians" or the "Little Russians." The inhabitants of the Ukraine, or of the governments Tchernigof, Poltava, Kharkof, call the great Russians or the Muscovites "*kazaps, goats,*" from their wearing beards, and are in their turn termed by the Great Russians *khokhols*, "hair tufts," which they themselves call *tchub, tchupran*, a tuft of the same kind as that which the Chinese wear on the top of the head; this is an old Slavonian custom, as appears from history, which mentions such a one being worn by the Russian Prince Sviatoslav, when carrying on war in Bulgaria.

The Malo-Russians were for more than a century under the dominion of the Poles. Yet they preserved nothing derived from them, but hatred against them for the religious persecutions they endured. However, now the Russian rule is no more liked by them than the Polish was, their privileges having been annihilated one after another. The character of the

Malo-Russians is something between that of the Great Russians and Poles, serious and good, but cunning.

We have become acquainted with Russian despotism and Russian slavery, which say nothing in favour of the culture of that nation ; but the Russians being a white race, which is the most civilised, must also be civilisable.

I am accused of seeing only the black side of the Russian character ; I do not shut my eyes against the weaknesses of other nations, but I have always said that the bad features of the Russian character are, for the most part, produced by the Russian rule, and that the Russians, were other aims proffered to them, would exhibit very different qualities. Yet, if despotism produces corruption, corruption gave rise to the despotism and supports it. Indulgence shown to thieves encourages them to steal.

A Colonel of a cavalry regiment sent his soldiers in the night-time to steal some hay on an estate belonging to a lady, which lay without any one to watch it in the fields, as is usual on the Steppes estates. Hay to more than the value of 1000 rubles (*assignats*) was carried away. Some time afterwards, the Colonel married the daughter of that lady, and on his wife looking once at his account books, she found in the income column : “economical hay for 1000 rubles.” She asked what the word *economical* meant there, and her husband answered, laughing : “My little

soul, do you remember that your mamma was once very angry at my soldiers for having carried away her hay? That was *this* economical hay!" The young lady laughed in her turn.

One must not think that this instance is common to all the nation, for there is also the greatest honesty to be met with among all classes of the people. Besides, is the vice of stealing so extraordinarily rare in other countries? 400,000 francs disappeared from the cabinet of the Emperor of the French, and the duel which was the result, did not prove who was the thief. We have just now an instance of dishonesty in England too, a purveyor of provisions to the fleet having furnished such as were unfit for use.

Whether crimes increase or diminish in the several provinces of Russia, as for instance, in that of Viatka, under Tufiaieff, the reports of the Governors have always the following words printed or lithographed above them: "Your Majesty will once more see that crimes are lessening."

So in Prussia, the gendarmes are supposed to be under the necessity every year of making a certain number of arrests, and when they make fewer, they are suspected of negligence. Consequently, at the end of the term, these fellows arrest the first person they meet, in order to complete the number.

The Russians are not so devoted to money as other nations, and whether it is because they get it more easily, or because they do not know its value so well,

they spend it more freely. They are generous, ready to assist others, and are subject to an excessive sensibility, which often exhibits itself in a ludicrous manner. Men kiss one another, which is elsewhere considered as a very strange thing. They are compassionate in respect to little sufferings, and suffer the greatest cruelties to be perpetrated without protesting against them. Though kind-hearted, they are capable of being very cruel themselves, and whilst cold-blooded in battle, they rise, when excited, to a state of delirium. There is no order in public more than in private business. Almost every Russian nobleman spends more than his income; nor does he like to keep any account, or to pay his debts.

Besides police, education has the greatest influence on the character of a nation. The Russians are taught that they have conquered in all battles, even in those they have lost. Therefore, their belief in their invincibility, their national presumption and selfishness, and the thought that they live only for fighting.

In 1849, there was an official order given to the military schools, to teach that the Saviour submitted to death, rather than rebel against the legitimate power of the Romans; that the Roman Empire was in every respect better than the Roman republic, and would have been much better, had it not been elective.

The common people are venturesome and industrious. With one axe, the peasant builds his cabin; with a bag on his back, he travels through the whole empire,

carrying on work ; and with his eternal “*avos*, perhaps,” he crosses the rivers scarcely frozen, and when the ice curls under his feet.

Obedience to the Czar is hereditary ; the bees have a constitutional government, but the Russians understand nothing but autocracy and communism, and from insane Nicholas they can only appeal to the lucid Nicholas. Saint Nicholas himself, the patron of Russia, lets the Czar rule as he likes.

The Russians say that their country is progressing with gigantic strides. The railway of Moscow to St. Petersburg has been achieved, but the interior of the country is completely devoid of roads. Russia is an immense barracks, wretchedly constructed for temporary use, plastered and coloured with yellow, so as to have a tolerable appearance externally, whilst in the interior they are overrun with thousands of pernicious worms.

A revolution is not very likely in Russia, but the greatest revolutionist is the Emperor Nicholas himself. He makes work for the revolutionists better than they could ever do. He prepares revolutions, when he forbids the expression of truth, and the removing of abuses ; he increases the discontent, even when aiming to do good, doing wrong. To impose an income-tax of 25 per cent. on the landlords, or to reduce the labour of the serfs to two days in the week, is a good way to ruin the nobles, but not a way to emancipate the slaves.

THE POLES.

Is there a Poland or is there none? That is the question first put when one treats of that country. *Finis Poloniae!* exclaimed Kocziusko, on the field of battle, throwing away his sword, on being made prisoner by the Russians; since which time those words have been repeated by less distinguished generals or patriots: and so it is not lost, but still lives, or if politically lost, it lives in the hearts of millions, and there is indeed something very noble in the feeling of those Poles who, notwithstanding all their sufferings and all their privations, believe in the rising again of their country. "A nation," say they, "which has a literature and a history, does not perish." But the history of a nation closes with it, and the Roman Empire also has its literature, and that of no mean kind. Nations die like individuals, and the absorption of smaller nationalities by larger, is doubtless the goal to which mankind are irresistibly advancing.

Historians are obliged to admit the superiority of the conquering to the conquered race. Therefore I have no doubt that the Turks are more worthy than the Bulgarians, the Servians, and the Greeks, whom they subdued; and indeed we hear very little of wars between the Mahomedans, who are truly more united than the Christians. Thus the Poles have always been

THE POLES.

distinguished for a disposition adverse to union. This defect was actually kept up, increased, and turned to their own account by their perfidious enemies, so that it was one of the principal causes of the loss of Poland. There are persons who believe that the Russian nation exhibits more love of order, and that it is to this it sacrifices even freedom and suffers absolute power to rise above its head. The Poles were free whilst the Russians conducted themselves as slaves, and I do not call a state of despotism and slavery, order, but disorder,—a state of stagnation, a political morass, foul and putrid. Of course, the constitution of Poland was subjected to many evils; it was an elective monarchy, and the elections always gave rise to internal intrigues and external interference. The *liberum veto*, or the power of every delegate to invalidate a decision of the House by his refusing assent to a bill, is the greatest absurdity that history offers.

Where is there a parliament to be found without a fool or some extravagant fellow in it? or cannot a foreign power purchase or influence a single member? What would become of England if a single member of either House were able to impose on it his own policy?

The geographical position of Poland was far from being so good as that of England or France, but that was not the cause of its being lost. The Polish white eagle dipped one wing in the Baltic at Dantzig, and the other in the Black Sea. Silesia belonged to Poland,

and Saxony too ; and Prussia was a Polish province. The Ukraine was under the Polish dominion, and the Cossacks there were organized by STEPHAN BATORI. Poland was a great nation under SOBIESKI, who saved Vienna from the Turks. Was that, viz. the treachery and ingratitude of Austria, the cause of its ruin ? It was her own fault that Poland lost her possessions, but her ruin was the work of her faithless neighbours ; and it is a difficult task for history to decide, whether MARIA THERESA, or CATHERINE II, or FREDERICK THE GREAT, was the most culpable in the partition of Poland ; yet that infernal project seems to have originated in the mind of the Empress of Austria. A secret article in the treaty between Russia and Prussia, of 1764, set forth the maintenance of anarchy in Poland. However, I think that Louis XIV of France was the first discoverer of the atrocious policy of the partition of states, having had that in view with respect to Holland.

The Russians term the Poles : “ Liachs * *Without brains* ;” and in the last Polish campaign, the Russian soldiers barbarously split open the heads of such of the enemy as were killed, to see whether they really had any brains.

The Poles have in their turn no less contempt for the Moscovites, who, indeed, want no great intellect for blindly obeying the Czar.

* The primitive name of the Poles.

Poland has produced remarkable men in every sense of the word, and the reproach cast upon them by their enemies is a reflection upon the Poles not knowing how to defend themselves against their perfidy. Does the Russian power study the interest of Poland better than the Poles did by confiscating estates, or by threatening to destroy Warsaw in the first movement made, as Nicholas did in his memorable speech to the Polish Deputies?

The disunion that we have deplored among the Poles at home, still exists among them as emigrants, but it is a fatality in all emigrations to be divided, and whilst the Polish refugees entertain the best hopes for the raising of their country, the reports from Poland are sometimes quite of an opposite nature. The Russian Government was cunning enough to secure the sympathies of the Polish peasants, already exhausted by the domination of the Polish nobility. It distributes seed-corn among them, in bad years, such as the last was, but constant recruiting for soldiers is insupportable; all kinds of weapons are taken away from the inhabitants, and a landowner must be on an intimate footing with a Russian officer, or be free from all suspicion in respect to his political opinions, in order to have the permission to make use of a gun for sporting. In time of war, as now, provisions are taken without their being paid for, even with assignats, or anything but a *bon* in handwriting.

The Poles are also termed "the Northern French," and they have indeed all the ceaseless activity of intellect and feeling that distinguish the French, whilst the Russians, though they speak French quite well, are more or less Tahtars at bottom, aiming always at conquering.

Galicia has already become quite German, and Posen too. Lithuania which was, prior to its annexation to Poland, Russian, still exhibits some antipathy to the Russian rule, even perhaps more than the kingdom itself (Warsaw), where the corruption is greater. The opposition of Volhynia and Podolia is much less, or quite silent. Yet, if Poland obtained weapons from the Allies, it might rise; still it remained quiet in 1848, it does not trust France which has deceived it so many times, and which exhibits a sympathy for Poland only when it is in hostility with Russia.

There was, in 1848, a talk of reestablishing a Constitutional Poland with the Grand Duke Constantine for king, and now there is again a talk of it; but such constitutions, if imposed by circumstances, will be nothing but a deception and a bait. Poland with a French prince for king is also quite improbable, so long as Austria and Prussia preserve their respective shares of Poland.

NEW RUSSIA.

ONE of the most laudatory works on Russia is that of the Duke of Raguse (Marshal Marmont). I will not speak of that of the Russian professor of history at the University of St. Petersburg, M. Ustrialof: "*The Life of Nicholas*," nor of "*The Studies*," by the Prussian Chamberlain, Haxthausen; wherein the praise is of too low a character. Shall we speak of the errors of the Duke of Raguse? All the proper names are so incorrect, that even a Russian has the greatest difficulty in guessing them. He says, that Batshiserai was from the most ancient times the chief town of the Crimea, whilst the truth is, that it became so only in the middle of the fifteenth century. He says, that the road from Batshiserai to Sevastopol is through a desert; whilst in fact, it runs through a beautiful country. He speaks of New Sevastopol in low terms; but perhaps, it was not finished when he was there.

Travellers in the Crimea have spread the belief, that the Tahtars are accustomed to kill the ewe-sheep when with young, for the purpose of taking the skin of the lamb. The Aborigines know of no such custom.

Mr. Oliphant's work is, for a foreigner, a very remarkable one; but "*The Shores of the Black Sea*" speaks of the banks of the Volga as much as of the

coasts of the Black Sea. The author will probably thank us for pointing out to him any errors he may have committed, in order that they may be corrected in any future edition.

In page 45, he says: "In walking back to the steamer" (at Maza), "we put up a double snipe, a bird peculiar to this part of the world, and which only makes its appearance during a month in autumn, if the frost does not set in too early."

I have shot double snipes, *en masse*, in every part of Russia. There are also these birds in Greece and in Bretagne. They come to Russia in the spring, and remain till the end of autumn, when they are exceedingly fat from the quantity of corn they have eaten.

In page 67, he says: "The sterlet, this delicate fish, is peculiar to the rivers of the south of Russia." I had plenty of them in my own fish ponds, in the Government of Tver (in the north of Russia), which had been brought from the Volga. This small kind of river sturgeon is also found in the Don and in the Danube, at Galata.

Mr. Oliphant confounds the Don Cossacks with the Line Cossacks, praising their bravery in the Caucasian War. The Line Cossacks are feared by the Mountaineers, whilst the Don Cossacks are a mere laughing-stock for them, whom they term women in red jackets.

Kertch is not the only town in Russia built entirely of stone. Want of wood was the cause of all the towns in New Russia being built of stone.

We shall do better, therefore, to adhere to Russian sources for information. But the communication between Russia and England being interrupted, I regret not having been able to procure "*The Historical and Picturesque Album of the Crimea*," by Vilnef, nor the work of Count Uvarof, the son, on *The Antiquities of Southern Russia, and the Shores of the Black Sea*.

A very curious document is the reports of Count Kakhovsky, the Governor-General of Kherson, to the Empress Catherine II, when travelling in the newly-conquered province of Otchakof, which became a Russian province at the treaty of Yassi, 24th December, 1791.

Otchakof, anciently called Alektor, a Turkish fort taken by Souvorof, was no longer allowed to give its name to the province, which was then termed New Russia. The Dniester was its western limit, till Alexander conquered Bessarabia. Kakhovsky pointed out the most suitable sites for the building of towns. The population of New Russia increased through emigration as if by miracle. Agriculture especially made rapid strides, thanks to Bulgarian and Greek colonies. The cultivation of silk flourished among the former, and the growth of wine was carried to a great extent.

The Crimea fell into the hands of the Russians in consequence of its having been abandoned by the Turks, according to the same treaty of Yassi, but the definitive acquisition of this rich peninsula was a further work of astute policy.

It has been said, that the reigns of queens are better than those of kings, because men govern with the former and women with the latter. But where are the manlike acts in the reign of Catherine II? The massacre of Ismail or Vola, the partition of Poland, the appropriation of the Crimea, are cruelties or perfidies worthy of the most wretched of women. Cruel was Souvorof, and false was Potemkin. The former perpetrated the assaults and massacres, and the latter completed the annexation of the Crimea. Potemkin received for that service the title of Tauric, but the Empress destined for her favourite nothing less than the Ottoman Empire, and his death alone put a stop to his ambitious projects. These two remarkable men, Potemkin and Souvorof, being but little known in Europe, the reader will allow me to stop a little, to examine these two features, so expressive of the age of Catherine, called *the Great*. But to counterbalance what is dark with some light, I shall to the two add a third character.

POTEMKIN, SOUVOROF, AND SHOUVALOE.

Souvorof was a soldier, and Potemkin a magnate, but a magnate of an Eastern or Tahtar kind rather than a civilised one. The French Ambassador Segur, a flatterer of Catherine, who was cunning enough to secure the sympathies of Voltaire, Diderot, and other distinguished men of France,—says, that Potemkin used to receive ambassadors in a dressing gown and without cravat, which still continues to be the home costume of the Russian noblemen.

Potemkin hearing that one of his aide-de-camps knew by heart all the holy days in the almanac, sent for him. The officer was on furlough on his estate, and was not a little afraid at being recalled. Introduced to his highness, who was laying on the sofa, he was asked by the Marshal whether he was so-and-so. "Yes," replied he. "Is it true that you know by heart all the almanac?" "Yes," answered he. Upon this, the Prince, taking up an almanac, examined him as to several dates, and being fully satisfied with the answers returned, said: "Well, I see that you know the almanac by heart, you may return to your estate."

Another time he heard of a celebrated violinist in Italy. He sent one of his aide-de-camps to fetch him. The artist laughed, and refused to go. What was to be done? The aide-de-camp took another violinist and

brought him to the Prince. The artist played to his highness's satisfaction, who rewarded him in a princely manner, without any suspicion of the trick played upon him.

We shall afterwards reveal something of Potemkin's private connexion with Catherine. We may here offer a proof of his wealth and power.

Catherine built in St. Petersburg, on the banks of the Neva, a palace, which she called in honour of Potemkin, the Tauric Palace, which she made a present of to the Prince. He sold it to the Empress again for 460,000 rubles. After the taking of Ismail the Empress gave him the choice of reward, and he took the Palace again. He partly furnished it with the furniture purchased of the Duchess of Knigston, formerly a Miss Goodling, well-known in England for the law-suit she had with her husband, which obliged her to emigrate from England; she lived on terms of intimacy with the Electress of Saxony, and afterwards went to Russia, where she died. A musical clock was purchased of her for 42,000 rubles. The Winter Garden in this palace was six times larger than that in "the Hermitage."* There were nightingales to be seen and heard. The stoves were concealed by mirrors of immense value; and in the middle of this garden rose a temple with eight marble pillars, in which stood a bust of the Empress, represented as a Goddess with honours

* A part of the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg.

and riches flowing from her hand. On the altar might be read this inscription : " To the Mother of her country, and my benefactress." The lamps represented fruits and flowers. Pyramids of looking-glass and crystal ornamented with the names of the Imperial family so as to appear like diamonds, were constructed for the feast of the 9th of May, 1790, which Potemkin gave to his Imperial mistress. As that feast has been variously described, we may give a more accurate account of it. The preparations for it employed several thousands of artists for many weeks. At the celebration of the feast, the Prince wore over a red coat a black lace mantle of several thousand of rubles' worth, and his hat was covered with diamonds, so as to be too heavy for him to wear, which he was obliged, therefore, to give to one of his aide-de-camps to hold. In the square before the Palace another feast was prepared for the people where temporary shops were erected, to supply the people gratuitously with clothes and provisions. Immediately on the arrival of the Imperial family, the festival commenced with the performance of a French play, followed by dancing. On this occasion, 140,000 lamps and 20,000 wax candles were lighted. At the supper table of the Empress the service was of pure gold. The Prince waited on the Empress, till she ordered him to sit down. Three thousand persons were invited, but after the commencement any one might be admitted. The expenses of this festival

have been estimated at 200,000 rubles, but I believe they far exceeded that sum.

This was the last time Potemkin saw his mistress.

We find in a work by the Metropolitan Ion : “*A Visit to the New Russian Country*,” written in the Georgian language, valuable information on the death of Potemkin. Arrived at Iassi, the Prince took a fever: he went to the country seat of the Moldavian Hospodar, Mavrocordato, and feeling his end approaching, he said to his confessor, “Pray for my soul ! Thou knowest that I have wished nobody any harm. To render man happy was the object of my wishes.” Yet he got up, and notwithstanding all that had been said, he set off for Kherson, accompanied by his niece, the Countess Branicki. On the Pruth, near the village of Sabiela, he was obliged to stop; he ordered his holy image to be brought, and as soon as he had made the sign of the cross, he expired. He was buried with great pomp at Iassi, but there exists no monument to his memory ; the Emperor Paul even did violence to his tomb, and carried away his remains.

The memory of a truer benefactor of mankind, the celebrated Englishman, Howard, has been more respected ; his tomb was violated, but through an excess of veneration. Near Kherson, on the estate of Mr. Dauphine, there is still a statue of him, but his body was stolen away by the Countess Potocky, who was so charmed with the glory of the philanthropist,

that scarcely had the news of his death reached Kovalëvko, the Countess's estate, when a carriage and horses were sent, and the coffin brought in the carriage. Howard was again interred in an island on the Kovalëvko estate, and a rich monument erected to his memory, whilst that at Kherson was standing too ; and as the latter place was at that time a comparative desert, the fraud was not dreamt of.

If we take the works of the celebrated French historian, Thiers, who professes a competent acquaintance with military subjects, we learn that Souvorof was nothing but a butcher, whose entire tactics consisted in sacrificing his soldiers. War is butchery, and to sacrifice men in battle is sometimes to spare them as regards the whole war. Souvorof is lauded in Russia for his never having been beaten. He conquered the Turks at Rimnik, for which he received the title of Count Rimnikski. When Ismaïl resisted all the attacks of the Russians, Potemkin ordered Souvorof to take it in three days, and Souvorof did it with the loss of 17,000 men ; twice that number of Turks were massacred, the Russian soldiers not even sparing infants, but throwing them into the air, and catching them again on their bayonets. The Polish fortress, Vola, had almost a similar fate. Souvorof's Italian campaign was a suite of victories, and he was not present at the battle of Zurich, where his advance-guard was destroyed by the French under

Massena, having indeed given orders to Korsakof not to engage in battle.

To those who said, that all his victories were ascribable to good fortune, he himself answered, "Well, good fortune one day, good fortune another day, but sometimes science surely." He concealed his knowledge, and when it was said that he was reposing, he was studying military works. In order not to excite jealousy, he pretended to be a fool, crew like a cock, and was a very Scythian in his manners.

One day in Odessa, when going to be married and standing before the altar, he began to reflect, stopped the priest, made an excuse to go out, got into his carriage, set off, and never returned. The only alternative for the lady was, to pursue the conqueror's steps—by reading the accounts of his victories in the newspapers.

When he became the commander of the Austrian troops in Italy, the jealousy of the Austrian generals was naturally excited, and in order to examine his plans, they called a council of war. The members of the Council, beginning at the youngest, proposed their several plans. Souvorof quietly heard them all, and when they had done, took a slate, drew a line, saying, "Here, gentlemen, are the French, and here the Russians, the latter will march against the former and beat them;" and so saying, he rubbed out the French line, and added, "This is all my plan, the Council is concluded." The following day the

Austrian generals went on a visit to him. He asked the age of two of them, and being answered, he asked further which was the eldest. "I," said the eldest. "Not so," said Souvorof, "You have slept whilst the other has been awake."

Souvorof regained Lombardy for the Austrians, restored the king of Sardinia, who called him his cousin and heir; but the Austrians rewarded him by recalling him.

No Austrian orders were his ambition, but the English garter; and he used often to write to Catherine, saying, "Empress, I grow old; my stockings fall down to my ankles."

When he again came to St. Petersburg, Paul had become his mother's successor, who sent to him Count KUTAISSOF, to congratulate him. Souvorof said to the Count, "Will you be kind enough to tell me what important post you have held either in the army, or in the diplomacy?" The Count was obliged to confess that he had been his majesty's valet. Souvorof called his servant, and said to him, "I always told you, not to drink, and not to steal. Look here, the Count, because he never drank, nor stole, has from a valet become a knight of all the Russian orders, and Master of the Horse to the Emperor." Then, addressing the Count, he said, "I shall have the honour to wait upon his Majesty." Therefore Souvorof died in disgrace, and though the English Ambassador went to his funeral, the Austrian did not.

The monument of Souvorof is on the Mars Field in St. Petersburg,* that of RUMIANZOF, the well-known conqueror of the Turks at KAGULA, is in the square before the Academy of Arts.

The Russian Mecenas was Count Ivan SHOUVALOF, who began his career under Elizabeth. He was the founder of the University of Moscow, which turned out so well, that the Empress Catherine said once, that the official documents being drawn up by men educated at the University, she was able to understand them. The Gymnasium at the University was founded at the same time, from which Prince Potemkin was expelled for bad conduct. LOMONOSSOF,† the father of Russian poets, assisted Count Shouvalof in founding the University, having proposed that of Leyden as a model. Another Russian poet, SUMAROKOF, had also the honour of visiting the Count, and sometimes when the two poets met together, they would enter upon some very vulgar discussion.

* Mr. Köhl, in his *Panorama of St. Petersburg*, says, that the Tzarizn Lug has somewhat inappropriately been translated into Champ de Mars. I can assure him, that it is however termed in the Russian language, "Marsovo Pole."

† A gentleman of that name being a secretary to the Russian Embassy in London, bought something in a shop, and on the tradesman asking for his address, that he might know where to send the article purchased, he told him his name, which, however, the Englishman could not write down. Hereupon the Russian began to spell his name, but on reaching the third syllable, the tradesman put the packet in his hand, saying : "Sir, you are of course jesting."

Under Catherine, DERJAVIN and DMITRIEV, two other Russian poets, the former a lyric, and the latter a fabulist, were also in the habit of visiting Shouvalof. Both became ministers of justice, but remained only a short time in office, having evinced no very great talent for so unpoetical a post.

Shouvalof was a magnate in the best sense of the word—civilised, generous, and proud. He was well acquainted with Voltaire, resided a long time at Ferney, and kept up a correspondence with him, preserving his letters bound together in a quarto volume. He did not, however, profess any great esteem for him. When he read his *Essai sur les Mœurs*, he exclaimed, “Beast! To be such as he is here, I detest him. Yet he writes well.” Shouvalof was also an infidel, but he became converted, and ever after made the sign of the cross.

He lived a long time in Italy and France, and disliked the French for their vanity. He said that when he was in Paris, and was going to give a Russian dinner, his cook refused to roast a goose, adding, that he would rather give up his place, than prepare so common a dish.

As an instance of indifference and profusion among the Russian nobility, the following anecdote may serve: Shouvalof being on his estate, took a fancy to obtain an extensive pasture close to the windows of his house. This pasture belonged to Marshal Rumianzof, who refused to sell it, but offered to cede

it to the Count for two little statues which he had seen on the Count's chimney-piece. Shouvalof refused. "I thought," said he, "I seldom went to my estate, but my chimney-piece would be disfigured."

His daughter, Princess Galitzin, had a daughter married to Count Nicholas Golovin, the owner of the well-known Vorotinez on the Volga, the grandson of the Chancellor of Peter the First.

At that time Russia was invaded by French refugees. The Countess Tarant was well received at the house of Princess Galitzin, and Count Shouvalof entertained with hospitality many French emigrants. One of these having spoken ill of a Russian nobleman, Shouvalof became very angry, and called him a Jacobin and a vagabond, and then forgave him. This is an instance of Shouvalof's pride.

ODESSA.

"THE burning of Moscow contributed considerably to its embellishment," says the Russian poet GRIBOEDOV, in his classical play: *Suffering through Intellect*. I do not know whether the bombardment of Odessa will have the same effect. But as it was before, it was the finest, the most civilized, the freest town in Russia, and after Tiflis, enjoying the best climate.* It was a foreign town rather than a Rus-

* The spring nights in St. Petersburg and the summer nights of Odessa are so beautiful, that we can scarcely form an idea of it in the foggy Albion.

sian one:—Italians, Greeks, and Jews constitute the majority of the population. Trade has assumed a freedom there not allowed in any other part of Russia. Prince (at that time Count) Voronzof's clever administration respected liberties which injured nobody.* It is only there that people smoke in the streets, wear beards, and dress as they like. Yet I cannot say that the society of Odessa was the most agreeable. Through this mixture of nationalities, there were a great many closed circles and coteries, and no extensive society.

Odessa is a town of pleasure as well as of commerce: it is the best sea-bathing place in Russia. The land-owners in the neighbouring provinces are accustomed to go there for the sake of bathing. The Italian Opera is one of the best, and the most celebrated singers have been heard in Odessa. The inhabitants divide their time between the office and the opera.

The being in constant contact with the foreign world contributed greatly to the civilisation of the inhabitants. The Lyceum of Richelieu might be ranked with the best Russian universities, though the building is old and ugly. There are two papers in Odessa: "*Le Journal d' Odessa*" in French, and "*Odessa's Messenger*" in Russian; there are also almanacks, which are well written.

* Prince Voronzof used to wear his shirt collar above the collar of his uniform. "I allow that to you alone," said the Emperor Nicholás, who did not himself take that liberty. Educated in England, Voronzof, whose father was Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, is in his manners more of an English nobleman.

The best season in Odessa is the autumn ; in the summer it is too hot and too dusty. The dust in Odessa is a real plague, and I do not entertain the opinion that it will be any better, when the city is older. Nice, in Piedmont, is dusty too. White shoes and light yellow dresses are usually worn in Odessa, to conceal the dust.

There is a great want of wood and water ; consequently all the buildings are of stone, and people drink more wine than water, which cannot be said of London, the beer metropolis.

The two fountains in Odessa are not sufficient for providing the town with water enough, the want of which is felt for bathing as well as for washing, and particularly for watering the streets. Let us hope that the means for converting sea water into fresh water will be available, and so much the more as the water in many wells in Southern Russia has a salt taste. Yet in Odessa, the foreign wines are too dear : the Crimean wines, however, are good and cheap.

The stone in Odessa is of chalk, some hard, and some easily cut into flags, but not firm ; and being originally formed of shells, it is so porous, that one might almost say you may hear and see what is going on in the next house.

The streets are macadamized with the same stone, which I think increases the dust rather than lessens it. In a rainy time, the dirt is as disagreeable in Odessa as it is in Paris.

Odessa is called a Free Port, but the imports are not quite free of duty, and pay only some trifle less than in the rest of Russia—three-fifths. The town is however surrounded by custom-house lines with palisades. The custom-house itself, where is also the steamers' office, is one of the best buildings in the town. Several quarantine houses guard the town from the Turkish plague, which, however, forced its way through in 1812, in 1828, and in 1837.

Fifty-eight years ago, Odessa was a little Turkish fortress, HADJI-BEY, and now it is a town of 60,000 inhabitants. The whole district contains 100,000 souls. The founder of it was Admiral DE RIBASS, after a plan made by DEROLAN, but it owes the highest development to the Duke of Richelieu, whose statue on the Boulevards has been destroyed by the last bombardment. The Duke was followed in his administration by another French refugee, Count LANGERON, whose widow still resides in the beautiful villa near the town, called Langeron's Villa.

The Marine Parade is said to be the most magnificent in the world, but it does not sustain any comparison with the beautiful marble terrace at Genoa. Yet the steps of the former are colossal.

There are many boulevards in Odessa, as the Marine, the Alexander, &c., which constitute a fashionable promenade. The Palace of Prince Voronzof is at the end of the Marine Boulevard, situated in a garden; it is small and in the English style.

Besides the sea bathing-halls, there are Russian vapour-baths and Greek baths, which present all the voluptuousness of the eastern baths; and mineral baths of clay, in the *limans*, discovered by Dr. Andreevsky, in the environs of the town.

The Greek quarter is the largest; but the most noisy is the Jews'; the best street is that of Richelieu.

There are fewer Russian churches in Odessa than in any other Russian town, where they number hundreds. Odessa with its suburbs has only twenty-three Russian churches, whilst there are ten Jewish synagogues. The cemetery is full of splendid monuments and thriving trees.

There are two bazaars, the old and the new, and the Palace Royal, a miniature of that of Paris, but the trees there do not thrive well. The corn warehouses are the most extensive in the world, and the corn trade is the most important for Odessa. In 1847, which was the best year, it exported to the amount of 20 millions of silver rubles, or £32,000. In 1851, the export of corn only amounted to 13,192,900 rubles. Next to the exportation of corn is that of wool, 2,874, 512 silver rubles. In the same year Odessa imported coal to the amount of 263,493 s.r., and the import of money exceeded the export only by 200,000 s.r.

The theatre is larger than the Exchange. There are more than 1000 Jewish schools in Odessa and only three printing offices.

Notwithstanding that Odessa enjoys great privileges from trade, it is very expensive living there.

CIRCASSIA.

A NOGAI STORY.

I could not give a better idea of the manners of the Caucasian Nogaïs, nor represent them in a more intelligible way, than by narrating the following fact.

Whilst subjects of interest become more and more rare in the monotonous uniformity of our social life, while remarkable individualities or exciting events are only to be handled by writers of no ordinary talent, the East presents for Europeans a variety of aspects. The manners of the Mussulmen are so different from ours, and the customs of the Caucasian tribes are so primitive, that both their virtues and crimes are unheard of in what *we* term "the civilised world." There is love, true love, without any interested speculation, tremendous hatred without concealment, never-failing vengeance, unbounded hospitality, true brotherhood. The savage Turkomen, the nomade Nogaïs, present in their lives marks of strange originality, and even the songs of their *bakshi* and *kobuzche* accompanied by *tamars* or *kobuzs* seem to be appropriate for their steppes and their monotony.

The Nogaïs are good Mussulmen; they religiously

observe the *Ramasan*, or the Mahomedan fast, but still better the *Bairam* and the other feasts. The richest of them journey to Mecca, and wear white turbans, in commemoration of their pilgrimage, whilst the Arabian and Turkish *Hadjis* for the same purpose adopt green ones.* They drink kalmuck or *brick* tea,† tear out their beards with pincers, which give them an effeminate and displeasing aspect. They live in *Kibitkis* (tents) or *saklis* (cabins) forming *aouls* (villages); these they ornament with costly weapons. The girls are fond of rich silk stuffs for their dresses: among the girls you may find many of a fine slender figure, as it would be a difficult task to say whether *Raima* or *Totaibek* were the most handsome. The former was the daughter of NURUSH-ADJI and the latter his adopted child.

One evening, after the *namas* or prayer, Nurush-Adji was sitting at the door of his *kibitka*, talking with some friends, whilst within the girls were making ready their dresses for the “Bairam,” a fine voice was heard, and came nearer and nearer: “*Kyrdən basatman-tman tamannym.*”

A slender young man, with fine features and shabbily dressed, appeared in front of the “*kibitka*;” he

* Green is generally accounted the sacred colour in the East, and such is the fanatical veneration of that colour, that, a few years ago, a Russian consular agent, when passing through Damascus, was pelted with stones and mud for having on a green waistcoat.

† Common tea, which, instead of having been dried in leaves, is pressed together in the form of bricks.

put his hand to his heart, an act of salutation among Mussulmans, "*Selam Aleikum*," said he, "*Aleikum Selam*," answered Nurush Adji. The former then sat down on the carpet opposite to the latter, an act very shocking according to Nogai etiquette, that honour being allowed only to persons of consequence or intimate friends.*

Nurush-Adji looked astonished at this familiarity in the young man, and said to him:—

"I do not know you, who are you? I never saw you before."

"I was born on the Terek, near Kisliar, I was once great and influential. A Tchetchenian offended my brother; I threw the offender down a precipice from the top of a rock. The revenge of a Circassian admits of no delay. When I came home, my countrymen did not acknowledge me; I lost everything, and resolved not to bear any longer my name **AMAN HASA**; I took that of **DJEMBULAT**, and left my home, in order to lose the remembrance of my former greatness. But I thought that so long as there will remain one faithful Nogai, I should not remain homeless."

"And you shall not be mistaken," said Nurush-Adji; my "house will be yours, my son Issa, and my daughter Raïma shall be your brother and sister."

* Among Turks and Egyptians the hierarchy of ranks is observed by the elevation of the seats. A pasha, seated on a high sofa, receives visitors on low tabarets.

Nurush-Adji had already another ward, Totaïbek, his adopted daughter, and it was difficult to say, whether she was more beloved by the father than Raïma or not, but she possessed the affections of Issa, and returned his love in silence and secret. But what does not jealousy produce?

However Djembulat held out his hand to Issa, and Issa pressed it with both his, and again Issa laid his hands on those of Djembulat, the usual mode of salutation amongst Nogaïs: a more affectionate one would be to embrace each other, as the Russians do and the Nogaïs too. Both young men were proud, bold, made to love each other; but what cannot woman do, whether with or without intention? Mountains would combat together for them or through them.

Some days afterwards, Issa heard Djembulat kiss his sister; it was the first pledge of love, but Issa thought that it was Totaïbek who was deceiving him, and he swore revenge. The Nogai says, "Be slow to offend, hasty to revenge, and Issa thought himself offended! Not so blind was that belief, as one might suppose; Issa thought that an orphan girl adopted, as Djembulat had just been, would sympathise with him rather than with the heir of the richest Nogai as he was.

The "Baïram" came as soon as the new moon appeared, and the faithful, falling down with their

faces to the earth, cried out, "Baïram, Baïram!" The festivities began, cattle was slaughtered, *tchurekis* (breads) and tea consumed in great quantities, and for some days, the poorest were sure of food. The inhabitants put on their best dresses; the richest of fine blue Russian cloth, and the poor of Circassian cloth. Almost the whole night was devoted to eating and drinking, and the following day began with entertainments.

Races! How different are not the Nogai races from the English! Every man is then on horseback and hundreds of riders enter the lists. They divide themselves into two camps, Issa being at the head of the one, and Djembulat at the head of the other. Both are on white horses with gleaming armours.

Guardians preserve order, yet these races are more like hunting matches than races; the sight of them is, however, beautiful. The Nogai are not accustomed to equalize the weight of the jockeys, but they prepare the horses for running by depriving them every day of some portion of their food, in order to make them lighter. The boys of the *aouls* begin the races. A discharge of muskets in honour of the Baïram follows. Four of the oldest men are the judges; they take their places on carpets opposite each other. Pieces of money having been collected, they are scattered on the ground, and the riders stooping from their saddles take them up. Issa and Djembulat, having done this with general applause, threw them again amongst the

poor people. Others, less disinterested, kept what they got for themselves, whilst others did not succeed at all, and were hissed by the spectators. A sham fight began, and the horsemen rode away. The dust and the distance soon concealed them from the sight, and many shots resounded. Every man soon returned again, but Djembulat was not to be seen; his white horse, however, ran through the plain, dreadfully mangling his head and breast. Issa, instead of shooting with blind shot, shot a bullet through his head. Djembulat fell, and his horse not accustomed to its rider, upon feeling him hanging to the bridle, dragged him along.

Some months afterwards, the girls of the “*aoul*” went to the well; they found the water thick, and the horseherds took out of it the corpse of a girl—it was the corpse of Raïma. O! you, whose heart beats only for money, exclaim against the want of religious resignation, or call insane those who love but once!

“The white beard” who related this story, added that since that time, since the loss of Raïma, the esteem of his fellow-countrymen and happiness forsook Nurush-Adji; nobody went to labour gratuitously for him in his fields as before, the money coffers previously open to him, were shut, and he himself no more opened his purse for the poor. What was the reason of all this? It was not the killing of

Djembulat that produced this, as if it were a crime, but because there was no one to revenge it, there being no ceremonial courts known among them.

There has just been published a new work by M. Haxthausen : *The Transcaucasia*. It contains no information which is not to be found in other German works on the Caucasus. The author avoids far more than even M. Koch, any criticism upon the Russian rule, and his book is less interesting than that of Ditson.

THE ABHASES.

On a beautiful February evening a Russian detachment was sent to cut wood. This was in the neighbourhood of Suhum-Kaleh, in the midst of peaceable inhabitants. Their occupation continuing several hours, Novosselof took his rifle and went a shooting. He proceeded for a good hour putting aside the branches of the trees with his gun, until the voices of the singing soldiers and the sounds of their axes were no more heard. He then heard the cry of a bird, prepared his gun, and followed the sound, and on his whistling, was answered by a whistle. He was on the borders of the forest in sight of the defile called GUSKAHALAK. Something black passed before his eyes, he shot, and the pellets fell upon the bush before him; a loud laugh was the answer. The barrel of a gun was placed at his breast, he pushed it away, and was going to strike with the butt end of his gun: a gigantic mountaineer stood before him, when he was thrown to the ground by a noose, and the foot of the mountaineer pressed on his breast. Novosselof looked up at his enemy, and perceived a subject Abhase. "KELIM, do you not recognise me?" said he. "O yes, Captain." "Let me go then, you must." "Phe! Kelim is not so stupid as you think."

The fate of the Captain was the worst of all. An enemy would have sold him again, but a subjected Circassian never would; for in him it would have been a crime, and in the eyes of a Circassian a crime is never to be forgiven. The hands of the captive were bound together in such a way that every movement of his hands tightened the noose. Kelim took him away into the plain, leaped into the saddle, raised the Captain like a feather, rested him on the stirrup, and said to the Captain "keep fast hold, we have a long ride, and my horse does not like strange riders."

Having heard an aoul, Kelim went to a Jew, and told him how he had taken his captive. "You are a fine fellow," said Utri, the Jew. "Yes, heart of my heart! every thing must be done in its own way —bravery alone does not feed the birds;" "Quite true, how shall we strike the bargain?" "Very easily, you shall give me half a cap of *Abases* (Russian silver rubles) and take him." "You are jesting! such a quantity of silver!" "I jest only when I am fresh, and then only with my wife." "Will you," said the Jew, putting his thumb on his little finger, "accept a pair of Trebizond pistols, and a couple of fat sheep as full of gravy as grapes in July?" The bargain was struck, and the Jew carried away the Captain, guarded by Kelim. Both were on horse-back and the Captain on foot. When the latter was so fatigued as to be able to proceed no further,

he was put into an *arba*. In that car there were two beautiful women: LEILA and TCHIKHA. Women's hearts are always more compassionate than those of men. They each related to the Captain the history of their lives, and he told them his.

From master to master, the captain passed to INGUSH SATAI, who had to guard the caravans of Turkish merchants who traded in female slaves. Novosselof remained his slave seventeen months. One day, in one of the caravans he met Tchikha again, and was fortunate enough to persuade his master to get her set at liberty. She then was married to her lover.

Ingush Sataï was on the point of death, and his mother was sitting at his bed-side, when he asked for something to drink: his mother refused his request till he told her where his money was kept. The Captain brought the water himself, and in spite of the resistance of the old woman, gave it to his master to drink. The monster of a mother began to sing the death-song, and threw lime on her son's face, as in the case of the dead.

"Serpent," cried the son, "Eana," (mother) "you martyr me. Thou, Russian, go to my brother, he has the money."

Ingush Sataï's brother was married to Leila, whom he ill-treated and whom he had just killed when the Captain entered. The latter took up a gun and shot the murderer. He was seized and fettered, and taken

home, where his master soon died. Ingush Sataï's mother believing that the captive knew where the money was, untied him. He took her to the stables, showed her a sack of straw, took a horse, mounted and set off.

On his way, he again met Kelim, but matters were quite changed, his treachery had been discovered by the Russians, and his cabin destroyed; whilst Tchikha, whose husband was rich, had persuaded him to purchase the Captain's liberty. Kelim had received the earnest money, and was on his way to carry the good news to the Captain.

Novosselof was killed in a skirmish on Mount Senekht, during the Natukhai expedition in 1842.

At present the Russians have destroyed their forts in ABHASIA, have abandoned their strong-holds on the whole Circassian coast. For what purpose has there been all this immense bloodshed? For it will of course be difficult, if not impossible, to recover again what has been given up.

THE SHORES OF THE BALTIC.

THE COURT OF ST. PETERSBURG.

PETER I was drinking, as usual, with his favourites, and said to one of them : " Is it true, what is reported, that you are my father ? " Prince R. to whom these words were addressed, returned no answer. The Czar grew angry, and threatened him with the torture, if he did not speak. " How am I to know that ? " said the Prince, exasperated in his turn ; " at the time I was with the Czarina, your mother, she had many other lovers." The Czar, in his turn, became silent.

Every one in Russia has heard of, and many have seen, Peter I's note to Menshikof, written with his own hand : " Send Cat to me, I will "

Villebois, in his Memoirs, relates, that being sent by the Czar to the Empress Catherine, who was unwell, and admitted him into her room, when she was in bed, excited by the frost and the brandy which he had taken, but still more by the sight of the beauty before him, he so far forgot himself as to ravish the Empress. The Czar did not punish the Frenchman with death, saying, that he had been drunk, and still was devoted to him. He contented

himself with putting him in irons some weeks. While Peter I was in Paris, the Prince Regent refused to admit the Empress his wife at the court.

The Court of Elizabeth presented a constant scene of revels ; pages and grenadiers were her lovers, each in his turn.

Catherine II gave 300,000 serfs at different times to her lovers, and spent many millions upon them ; a list both of her lovers and the sums spent upon them may be found, in Castera's *Life of Catherine II.*

A lady, the Duchess of Abrantes, wrote on the loves of Catherine II, a very scandalous, but true work. I would not offend the delicacy of an English public by mentioning the pointed instances which I am acquainted with on this subject. However, a short anecdote may lead to an idea of what they are. Potemkin, after having been Catherine's lover, became her procurer, and thus preserved her favour. At last one fine evening he said to her, "I think you have tried everything, and have nothing further to wish for." "Yes, ravishment," said she. "You shall have it," replied he. He invited Her Majesty to go into a dark room, and then ordered a sentinel, who was an ensign, to go into the room, and perpetrate the deed. Some time afterwards, Potemkin asked the Empress whether she was satisfied, to which she answered, "the young man was too handsome, I yielded."

Peter III, the husband of Catherine II, was incapable of being a father, and after having undergone an operation, was connected with the sister of the well-known Princess Dashkof, whom he wished to declare Empress; Paul therefore was not his son. Byron somewhere says: "Happy Alexander, if you are the son of your father!" And Count Rostopchin, the son of the celebrated Governor-General of Moscow, found among his father's papers, a letter to him from Paul I, saying, that his sons were not his own, and that he could no more acknowledge them. Paul was a fool, and some cause of jealousy may have occasioned that letter. Whatever it may have been, the young Count thought he should render the Emperor Nicholas great service by sending him that letter. But instead of receiving any reward, he was passed from the Guards to a regiment of the line, with the same rank, which was a great punishment, as the officers in the Guards stand two ranks higher than those in the line.

Madame Kleinmichel, the wife of the Director of the Means of Communication used to give birth to a child twice a year, one child being her own, and the other the Czar's, which she gave out as her own.

It is a triumph in surgery, say the court physicians, that the Empress is still living. They ordered her to sleep with a nurse, an expedient which proved very successful. She remained a Prussian Princess, speaking German with more pleasure than Russian,

fond of dancing, moderating the rage of her husband.

The Hereditary Grand Duke is the representative of European principles, whilst Constantine is the representative of Russian nationality. The former is one of the few princes of the blood who have married for love, and the latter is the President of the Geographical Society, which proves very useful.

There has been a great talk of the connexion of the Grand Duchess Olga with Prince Bariatinsky, which I am able to set in its true light. I can affirm, that it was nothing more than Platonic love, on which the Empress looked with some complacency. Some letters and presents were exchanged, and when news reached the court, that the Prince was wounded in the Caucasus, the Grand Duchess, who was standing in the Chapel, fell down in a swoon.

Her marriage with the Archduke Stephen, of Austria, the Palatine of Hungary, not having taken place for religious considerations, it was decided that she should be married to the Prince of Würtemberg. Bariatinsky was at that time at the court, the Emperor asked him for the keys of his bureau, and sent an aid-de-camp to peruse his papers. Some letters and a present were brought to the Emperor, who said to the young Prince: "You have a sister married in England, go there for a year."

The connections of the Grand Duchess of Leuchtenberg were of a different kind. The Princess Mary

is the most like her father, and is the most beloved by her father, who left her the choice of a husband. Many princes were called to the Camp of Voznessenski for that purpose, and the one preferred was the Duke of Leuchtenberg, the son of Beauharnais, the Czar having at that time a great regard for Napoleon's memory. I was at St. Petersburg at the time when this marriage was celebrated, and in "the Great Theatre," when the Czar presented his future son-in-law, already decorated with the order of St. Andreas, to the public, Policemen dispersed among the people, obliged them to cry hurrah ! When the present Napoleon declared himself Emperor of the French, the name of Leuchtenberg was taken away from the children of the Duke, and that of Romanofsky substituted for it. Why was not that of Holstein-Gotorp substituted ? The termination *sky* is not liked in Russia : Galitzinsky, Sheremetefsky are the scholars belonging to the Foundling Houses, respectively founded by Galitzin and Sheremetef. Now, the happy young man preferred by the Grand Duchess Leuchtenberg to her husband, since dead, was Count S . . . S . . . a very distinguished man in every respect.

From this, some idea may be formed of what is going on in the lower regions of such a depraved court, and what title the Ladies of honour have to their name. General Platof said, that he would rather kill his daughters than send them to court.

THE CZAR AND THE SULTAN.

No one has a greater distaste to libelling a character than I have. Works of science and literature I like, but not mere pamphlets. Therefore I regard it as a misfortune to have been born in the reign of Nicholas, to have to waste my energies in combatting a man, who, had he not the power to render millions of human beings unhappy, would not deserve any attention: In diplomacy not exceeding mediocrity, unskilful in the management of home affairs, he is perfect but in tyranny.

"How can you," said to me a Russian State Counsellor once, "with the name you bear, write what you write. Do you think, that we do not know what you tell us? But what good will you do by it? If Nicholas is a monster, as you say, your writings only provoke him, and he revenges himself on us."

"A public author does not care."

"Still we are happy."

"But who are you, and how many are there of you? Two thousand men perhaps, whilst millions are unhappy."

I have no greater contempt than for calumny, and I give my word of honour, that, of all the anecdotes I have published of the Emperor Nicholas, not one is of my invention. I do not understand even how anec-

dotes can be invented, and for my part, I would exercise my imagination on higher subjects. I said, in the commencement of my publications, nearly ten years ago that I should publish every thing that might extenuate the faults of the Emperor, if it were communicated to me. Well, what has been reported?

A Secretary to the late Duke of Leuchtenberg had a dispute with some officers of the Hussar Guards about a lady. They broke into her house, and finding the Secretary, gave him a box on the ear, which he returned by a blow with his stick. The case being brought before the Czar, he said, that, under the same circumstances, he should have done the same as the Secretary, and the officers alone were punished.

Now, the Metropolitan of Moscow, in a sermon delivered in 1849, said that the Sovereign under a sense of justice, had punished the guilty, and pardoned the innocent.

The Czar is at the same time Jury, Judge and Police, and contrary to the maxim of his grandmother, he thinks it better to punish ten innocent persons, than suffer one that is guilty to escape.

As an illustration of the Czar's kindness, the following report may serve.

A French painter, a native of Provence, was engaged at court, to paint some pictures. The Czar takes pleasure in beating the drum. He was once thus engaged in the painter's room, who having formerly been in the French navy, took the drum, saying, "I

will show you, Sire, how it is to be done." Upon this, he played a marine tune. The Czar was charmed, and from that time conceived such an attachment for the Frenchman, that he often went to him, requesting him to play. The Painter was a rude fellow, who soon became too familiar, and once impertinently refused to comply with the Czar's harmless wish. Nicholas took his cap and went away. The Frenchman's friends were in despair about him; but he said with his Provençal accent and style: "No matter! he will come again for some more drumming, and we shall be good friends together again." Alas! An aid-de-camp came, and ordered him to leave the metropolis immediately, and to quit Russia under the guard of a gendarme.

Aivazovsky, an Armenian by birth, formerly a student of the fine arts, sent to Rome by the Academy and now a famous marine painter, was finishing a painting of Peter the Great at the lake of Ladoga, during a storm, when the Czar went to him, and said that he would take the picture. "It is ordered by Mr. Jakovlef," said the artist. "How much does he give for it?" "Twelve hundred pounds." "Well I take it, and pay that sum." Jakovlef is the richest owner of mines in Russia, but still the Czar is richer. The artist promised to make a second painting for Mr. Jakovlef, but the inspiration was wanting, being too much of a courtier already.

A Russian functionary, P played at cards,

and lost the money of the Crown. The verdict of the Czar was, that all those who had played, should refund the sum, without distinction being made between those who had gained and lost; Mr. P. was condemned to some hard labour in the Admiralty.

We hear nothing of that kind about the Sultan **ABDUL-MEDJID**. On the contrary, we receive only favourable reports in respect to him.

I will not follow **THEAUPHILE GAUTIER** in his Tour in Constantinople. He is a critic, and not always a serious one. I prefer quoting **LAMARTINE**. People will, of course, say, that he is not an impartial reporter, having received a magnificent estate in the neighbourhood of Smyrna, as a present from the Sultan. But was not that just a worthy act of the Sultan, a Sovereign acknowledging the unquestionable talents of the French Poet, and the author of 'Travels in the East?' Lamartine reckons me perhaps in the number of his political opponents, of whom he spoke to the Sultan. Since his 'History of the Restoration,' I do not know what his opinions may be, but he had the opportunity of playing the part which Napoleon is playing now, and he will perhaps remember, that I advised him to do so. But when I told him, that unless he attacked the enemy of freedom, he would be undermined, he answered : "Your war policy is a coffee-house policy. We have only 30,000 men."

"The Grand Vizir Reshid Pasha introduced Lamartine to the Sultan, and acted as interpreter, His Majesty not speaking French. The Sultan's carriage conveyed Lamartine to the Imperial audience, which was held in the country-house belonging to the Sultan. It is a small house with a single window, and a flat roof, like the cottage of a poor country priest, such as are to be met with in the villages of the South of France. Three steps led up to a terrace shaded with fruit trees; five or six lime trees bent their boughs over the roof, and almost covered it. A little fountain sent forth its water with a melancholy sound before the door of the Pavilion, from which another flight of six steps conducted to a little vegetable garden. Some twenty paces from the kiosk, stood a cabin, the dwelling of a Turkish gardener, who was then quietly walking between the beds of the garden, as if it were his own property. Notwithstanding the whole was a scene of poverty and simplicity, it was the Sultan's favourite residence, where this possessor in Europe, Asia, and Africa, from Babylon to Belgrade, from Thebes to Stambul, is accustomed to retire, for the sake either of pursuing scientific studies, or of reposing from the fatigues of government

"Abdul Medjid is a young man, not 30 years of age, though he seems older; he is tall, well-built and graceful; he holds his head with a majesty and an ease, such as that we admire in Grecian statues, arising from the beautiful form of the neck, and the

perfect oval of the face. His features are regular and soft, his forehead high, his eyes blue, his eyebrows arched as a Circassian's, his nose straight, his lips half-open, his chin, the principal mark of human character, is handsomely formed. He has a proud and noble appearance, but subdued by softness, which seems designed to inspire love.

"In his looks there appears a certain youthful bashfulness, in his features something melancholy, in his gait a sort of listlessness, as one who had began to think and to suffer before his time. But the distinctive expression of his countenance is pensiveness, the thoughtful calmness of a man on whom is imposed the burden of dominion, and who conscientiously bears that burden, recognizing the sacredness of his mission. With a perfect absence of youthful levity, he has rather the appearance of a youthful high-priest, than of a young monarch.

"Such is Abdul Medjid, and such a portrait would Van Dyke have given of him, had he been living. It is a head which inspires one with a delightful sadness, and which involuntarily says of itself—This is a man destined for high authority; he is young, handsome, powerful, and he will doubtless become a great man, but never free, devoid of care and happy; we involuntarily love and pity him, because in the midst of all his greatness, he manifestly feels the responsibility of his office. Every one in his Empire may enjoy his youth; the throne has deprived him of his youth, even from the cradle.

During the conversation itself, the Sultan said, “*that in his imperial office, he sacredly respected the duties that private men respect in their situation, that he considered himself responsible before God for every drop of blood he should shed through ambition, and that he should never acquire all those virtues which that high rank demanded that God had conferred on him.*”

When the Sultan spoke of the difficulty of governing the different nations in his extensive dominions, Lamartine replied :

“ Your Imperial Majesty wears two crowns : one on your forehead—the emblem of your high power ; the other on your heart—the emblem of the goodness of your soul.”

ST. PETERSBURG
AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

CRONSTADT, REVAL, RIGA, HELSINGFORS, &c., &c.

It would be difficult to speak of St. Petersburg without speaking of Peter I, its founder. The history of Peter the Great is a desideratum. Whenever the Russian government gave access to the archives relating to his times, afraid of the monstrosities that would be revealed relative to him, they withdrew the permission of publishing. It was he who removed the metropolis to the northern borders of the empire. He laid the foundation of the capital on ground but just acquired by conquest, and the axe of the excavator already resounded whilst the sound of the cannon was still to be heard. Peasants were dragged by force from all parts of the empire, to labour on the banks of the Neva, of whom 35,000 perished in the morasses. There is a street in St. Petersburg called "MILLIONNAIA," from the millions it cost for its completion. Peter I. despotically imposed civilization on Russia, and many a time have I wished in my heart, that another despot would arise, and

impose liberty upon it, obliging the Russians to be free. But despotism is an evil, even when it would do good. Now that more than a century has passed since the foundation of St. Petersburg, we ask, whether the benefits have equalled the sacrifice? What service does the Russian nation render to mankind? For what purpose does it exist, and what is to be expected from it? St. Petersburg is a frozen window through which Russia looks on the rest of Europe, and nothing more. The influence of Russia over the Slavonian people has been lessened, rather than increased during the Petersburg period of its history, the Russian Government becoming less Slavonian, and more German. European corruption flows through Russia from St. Petersburg, whilst thoughts of liberty have been stopped or suppressed on their entrance. German uniforms have superseded the national costume. Theatrical entertainments have been substituted for pugilistic contests. Scrofula has spread through the moist climate of St. Petersburg. The Russians say, that the successors of Peter have not followed his will, and that, were he to rise again, he would first employ his cane on the backs of his successors; but his well-known testament, made public by CHEVALIER D'EON, the French envoyé and the lover of Elizabeth, seems not to be apocryphal. It commands the aiming at universal conquest, and Russia is now nothing but an immense camp. It is an agricultural country too, but it has also military

colonies, and every Russian peasant must be ready to put away the plough for the gun ; the navy and the army serve no other purpose but oppression.

The Russians themselves are not fond of St. Petersburg, and the loss of it would not be much felt. Still the society in St. Petersburg is one of the highest in the world. The "cream" of Vienna does not equal the luxury of the Russian nobility. The finest fruits and flowers, notwithstanding the rigour of the climate, may be seen in profusion at the balls given by the nobility, whose style of life calls to mind the time of the French Regents, or that of Louis XIV. Although there are 42,000 families among whom the entire land is divided, there are no more than twelve families in St. Petersburg enjoying an annual income of £30,000. There are a great many men of learning : the Russians are fond of reading, and generally speak several languages. If I do not say, with the Turk, that a man who speaks seven languages is worth seven men, neither do I say with Voltaire, that many languages are only many keys to the same lock ; the literature of every nation is a world of itself.

Peter I also laid the foundation of Cronstadt, Peterhof, Catherinenhof, and the greatest part of the country Palaces, which serve for no other purpose but to accommodate the Imperial family at the time of military manœuvres. ORANIENBAUM was founded

by Menshikof, and is the property of the family of the late Grand Duke Michael, the brother of the present Emperor, as well as are the palaces of PAVLOVSK and KAMENOI-OSTROV.

ROBSHA is one of the finest, though smallest palaces. The garden there is in English style, through which meanders a beautiful serpentine brook. It was here that Peter III was strangled.

The palace at PETERHOF is in the style of that at Versailles, but smaller, whilst the fountains there are larger than those at Versailles, being supplied with water from the adjacent gulf.

The palace of CZARSKOIE SELO had its roof gilded by Catherine II. Paul, whose hatred to his mother is well known, ordered the roof to be coloured. Great sums of money were offered to the Emperor Alexander to allow them to take away the gold, but he refused. Czars do not trouble themselves about a half million of rubles. The steeple of the Admiralty and that of the Citadel Church in St. Petersburg are also gilded.

In GATCHINA, which was the favourite residence of Paul I, Nicholas has erected a family monument to his father.

Whilst the Imperial residences are rendered sumptuous by art, and those of the nobility are also rich, the middle class are obliged to content themselves with the shade of a couple of acacias, and small cottages, as are to be seen at KRESTOVSKOI-OSTROV,

the chief resort of Germans. Near the latter place is the magnificent Park and Palace of ELAGUIN, belonging to the Empress.

Close to Peterhof there is another park, on the shores of the gulf, which bears the name of the Empress, and is called ALEXANDROVKA. Nobody is allowed to enter it. Once the Czar perceived some one bathing there; enraged, he hastened his steps, and called to the impertinent person that was troubling the imperial sea-water. Trembling, two ladies made their appearance in nature's garb. "Do you know the regulations of the park?" exclaimed the Czar. "No, Sire!" returned they. "Then go to the commandant of the town, and tell him to read them to you."

General Zakchargevsky, the Commandant of Peterhof, after having read the regulations, asked the ladies whether the Czar had ordered anything more, and on receiving a negative reply, suffered them to withdraw.

As usual, the following day he made his report to the Emperor, when the story of the ladies was mentioned. "Did you see them?" said Nicholas. "Yes, Sire." "But you did not see them as I did."

CRONSTADT lies on the island, called KOTLINOÏ-OSTRÖV, or Kettle-Island, formerly RETUSARI, that is, Rat-Island; the latter is a Swedish, the former a

Russian name, which was given by Peter the Great in consequence of a kettle which he found there, left by the Swedish soldiers, when he drove them out of the island. The kettle was carried as a trophy to St. Petersburg. This island is seven versts long and three wide.* The island lies very low, the bay is only twelve feet deep, and the canal is only for vessels drawing nine feet of water.

Peter began by building CRONSHLÖTT, and his successor completed Cronstadt, but neither of them did so much for it as the present Emperor. After having spent millions upon it, he exclaimed : " Now I should like to know how they will take Cronstadt."

Cronstadt is thirty versts distant from St. Petersburg. In winter, the gulf being frozen over, there are three roads across the ice : to St. Petersburg, Oranienbaum, and Sestrasbeck, the naval arsenal. In winter, the population of Cronstadt is 10,000, and in summer it increases to 30,000. There are three harbours : the military harbour is capable of containing thirty-five large ships, and is protected by a mole 450 fathoms long ; the middle harbour is that in which the vessels, which have been built in St. Petersburg, are finished ; the merchantmen harbour might hold more than a thousand vessels. The whole basin might be laid dry in two days, and filled again in six hours. The quays are splendid, and serve as delightful promenades.

* Seven versts make one German geographical mile.

The Russian men-of-war do not last long, their mean duration being ten years. This has been ascribed to several different causes, to the freshness of the water, to the ice, and to a kind of worm found in the water. The quality of the Russian wood itself is perhaps the chief cause. The most destructive worms are, of course, the Russian functionaries, but the same evil was observed when foreigners alone were employed in the building of them. Now, that Russians are the sole contractors, the abuses may have increased: still the Russian vessels last no longer in the Black Sea than in the Baltic, though the water is not of the same nature in both.

On the road from St. Petersburg to Reval, lies NARVA, an historical town, celebrated for the first battle that the Russians lost against the Swedes, and for its being taken by storm by Peter I. He ran through the streets with his sword bloody, having been obliged to employ it in restraining the excesses of his soldiers.

The town is built in the Hanseatic style; at some distance from it there is a remarkable cataract.

REVAL was founded in 1093 by Erich IV, of Denmark. The first building was a monastery dedicated to St. Michael, and afterward, converted into a convent for Cistercian Nuns. The first name given to this town was Tallina or Dani-lina, which, in Estonian, means *Danish town*. Its present name is a Danish

word, *Refwell*, a *reef*, or it may be derived from *Reafam*, a *raven*, the Danish standard.

Margareta Sambiria selected Estonia as her widow seat. In 1347, Reval was sold to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, but the Germans oppressed the people by such exactions, that in 1560 the Estonians rose, and gave up their country to Erich XIV, of Sweden. Russia took it from Sweden by conquest, together with Livonia and Ingeman-land, the latter now the Government of St. Petersburg.

On the road from St. Petersburg to Riga, lies DORPAT, 350 versts from the metropolis. It is the city which has been oftenest destroyed, perhaps indeed ten times, and now it is a fine town, built in modern style. The University is a handsome building, and the "Dome" with the Observatory over it, is an agreeable walk.

The population of RIGA is rapidly increasing: under Catherine there were only 20,000, and now there are 60,000. It is, after St. Petersburg, the most important port in the Baltic; the greatest part of its trade is with England, exporting more flax than corn. The town, surrounded with fortifications, is of an old style, built of stone; the streets in the suburbs are wider than those in the city, but built of wood. The Cathedral was erected in 1211, and rebuilt in 1547. St. Peter's Church has a tower of 440 feet high.

HELSINGFORS is the finest town in Finland, and a free port. The University, the Senate House, and the Observatory, are fine buildings. It is protected by Fort SVEABORG, which is also reputed to be impregnable. SUCHTEL surrendered it to the Russians for the sum of one million of rubles.

ABO is the chief town in the Government of that name, and is a place of less trade than Helsingfors, but has a greater population.

ART IN RUSSIA.

India has pagodas, China, pavilions, England, cathedrals, what has Russia? Her churches are of Indian or Byzantine architecture. Russia continues an imitator, in painting, in music, in science, and in literature. St. Petersburg is a town of brick. The palace, called the Marble Palace, belonging to the Grand Duke Constantine, is, as to its external appearance at least, of no very good taste. The Palace Demidof, in the Little Morskaia, is handsome, but small; there is a hall of malachite, with columns of the same material, of great beauty. The winter palace, built by an Italian, is in the style of the Renaissance, or the time of Louis XV. It was the favourite style of the Empress Elizabeth, and is also to be found in the Palace of the summer-garden, that of Peterhof, and that of Czarskoie-Selo. These three have a more lively appearance than the winter-garden. The building of the Staff-Major is a semi-circle, over which there is a triumphal car, most ridiculously erected to the Emperor Nicholas in honour of his Turkish campaign in 1828. The War-Office is in the Palace of Labanof, purchased for the sum of one million rubles, banco. The Palace of the Admiralty attracts attention by its steeple, far

too taper, and surmounted by a gilded ship, which shows the infancy of art.

The Senate House, though a modern building, is constantly needing repairs. "I do not know," said Count Fickelmont once, when I was present, "which is most to be wondered at, the rapidity with which houses are built in Russia, or the celerity with which they fall down."

The monument of Peter I in Isaac Square, erected by Catherine II, is a beautiful rock of granite, up which the Czar is riding on horseback; the point of support is the horse's tail. They have attempted to imitate this monument at Edinburgh, in honour of Wellington, but it is a failure. The original is beautiful, but thanks to the morass in which St. Petersburg stands, so fatal to buildings, the greatest part of the beautiful rock is buried in the ground.

The monument of the Emperor Alexander, erected by Nicholas, is a splendid column of porphyry, all of one single piece, a part of which had been cut off, to facilitate the transport of it from Finland. But the angel on the top of this column crushing a dragon under his feet, is a miserable production. This monument was built by Monsieur Montferan, the architect, and the erection of a monument of such stupendous height was an achievement in the annals of engineering. The present plan of St. Isaac's Cathedral, the first stone of which was laid by Catherine II, and which is not yet finished, originated

with Montferan too, but Montferan first acted as an architect in Russia, having been previously in France merely a house-decorator. The Church of St. Isaac proves his want of originality: there is in its architecture an admixture of the Pantheon and of St. Peter's in Rome, and the cupola above the great cupola, is rightly compared by the inhabitants of St. Petersburg to a sentry box. The materials are of far more value than the plan; the granite, a stone so difficult to be polished, forms a great part.

The Cathedral of the Virgin of Kazan, is a servile and wretched imitation of St. Peter's in Rome. It is far less than St. Paul's in London.

Among the palaces we must also mention that of the late Grand Duke Michael, in a modern Italian style. The Palace of the Emperor Paul, now appropriated to the school of Military Engineers, is gloomy, as its owner was, and has subterranean passages, which did not however save Paul from a premature death.

The iron palisades of the summer-garden are universally celebrated. An eccentric Englishman went to St. Petersburg for no other purpose but to see these palisades, and after having looked at them for a few minutes, left the town. The suspension bridge close to the summer-garden, and the Anitchkin bridge, both on the Fontanka, deserve notice as well. The latter of these bridges is ornamented with the statues of four horses, which at the time when they

were erected, were honoured with a salutation of some miserable verses, to the effect that four beasts had been exhibited to the astonishment of Europe. The Emperor Nicholas answered them by an order to the chief of the police, saying, also in wretched verse, that they should seek for the fifth beast (the author) and whip it, so as to mark it like a map of Europe. But happily the author was never found.

The Neva up to three years ago had no standing bridge across it. Till that time the breadth of the river and the moving of the ice after a thaw, allowed only bridges of boats. Now the stone bridge which was built at an immense expense, and by American engineers, is monumental. How grossly misinformed then must *The Times* have been, which says, ‘that twelve out of the seventy stone bridges on the Neva, have just been destroyed as a military precaution.’

On the right bank of the Neva, close to the Academy, are to be seen two Egyptian sphinxes, presented to the Emperor by Mohammed Ali. The inscription on them made by the Academy itself, serves but to excite the laughter of the Russian literats. The inscription runs thus : “These enormous sphinxes were brought, &c.”

There are three or four theatres in St. Petersburg : the great theatre is not remarkable, though in comparison with Covent Garden and Drury Lane, in London, it is a handsome building. The Theatre Alexandrina has some claim to artistical beauty, but is inferior to “The Schauspielhaus,” in Berlin.

Almost all the architects in Russia are foreigners. Still the Livonian Bosse, and a Cossack of the name of Tchernik, enjoy reputation and success in St. Petersburg. The latter is a Cossack officer, whom the Academy of the Fine Arts sent to travel in Italy at their own expense. The protection given by Nicholas to the useful arts is a matter beyond dispute. Out of spite to England, he gave the construction of the railway from St. Petersburg to Moscow, to American engineers.

We may then on a fine railroad and in elegant carriages go from the new to the old metropolis, to examine the chef-d'oeuvres of art in the latter place.

Moscow is called "the town of white stone," and "the city of gold cupolas." White stone indeed supplies the place of bricks, but the stone is calcareous and not very solid. There are so many churches in Moscow, that when the clocks are striking, people are obliged literally to shut their ears. Many of the cupolas of the churches are gilded; those of the Kremlin are plated with gold,—hence the second name of the city.

The difficulty to procure good materials for building in Russia is an insurmountable obstacle to the erection of fine edifices. Finland produces porphyry and granite; therefore the quays on the Neva, and the canals in St. Petersburg are all of the latter material; but even the solidity of the granite does not resist the destructive action of the Russian cold. There is an

abundance of iron in Russia, and the roofs of the principal buildings are made of it; roofs of tiles are only found in the Baltic provinces; no slate roofs are to be seen, and for the most part, the houses are roofed with wood. Russia is rich in wood, but to see the prodigality with which wood is used, we may entertain just fears for posterity in so cold a country: not by fire, but for want of it, may Russia perish. Coal mines are scarce, and of little extent: yet sufficient searches have not been made for the discovery of so important an article.

The word *Kremlin* derived from *Kremen*, stone, is a strong castle, a kind of serale, surrounded by an indented wall with towers upon it, and within which are no less than twenty-three churches. One must visit there the *Terëms*, or the dwelling of the ancient Czars. They are low rooms with oak or walnut wainscot, beautifully carved, but these rooms do not answer the expectations we should naturally entertain of luxury suited to the ancient sovereigns of Russia. They have been plundered of their ornaments, in order to enrich different museums; but the most curious things will have passed into private and unknown hands.

The largest collection of objects worthy of notice in Moscow is in *Rujeinaia Palata*, an armoury, where historical objects, from the most ancient cannons to modern arms, are collected. At the foot of the portrait of the present Emperor there is a little box containing the *Magna Charta* of Poland, a most

ironical exhibition of the Czar's annihilation of Polish freedom. Another proof of the same kind is the monument in Warsaw, erected by order of the authorities, at the expense of the inhabitants, to the Russian warriors killed during the Polish campaign. These two instances may serve as an answer to a weekly paper, which asked me, how a union between Russia and Poland was possible, so long as the former country is under despotic rule, and the latter enjoys a constitution, guaranteed by the Western Powers.

They cast better bells in Russia than cannons : until now Sweden has furnished Russia with cannons, and Liege with the best guns. The manufactories of Tula furnish nothing but miserable articles, though there are some clever workmen and masters, who have produced excellent models : but wherever the Government lays its hand, its functionaries fill their pockets, and the purveyors have an understanding with the manufacturers, to cheat the crown as much as possible. There is in the neighbourhood of St. Petersburg, the convent of St. Alexander, a manufactory of porcelain, which is as inferior to those of Sevres and Potsdam, as an imitation is inferior to the original. The drawings are without taste, and even the working of the material is not above mediocrity ; but in case of an exhibition, or of an order to execute for the court, the hope of special reward gives rise to the production of fine specimens.

The great bell of Ivan at Moscow is a curious piece

of casting. It fell down from the Ivan tower, the name of which it bears, when a piece was broken off large enough to have a space through which a visitor may enter, who would not object to creep in, for the sake of being entombed in this monster.

It is higher than a man by a good head, and such is its circumference that it requires four men to embrace it. When it was rung, it might be heard through the environs of Moscow; but it was not the *Vetchevoï* bell of Novgorod, or the tocsin, which called a free people to the exercise of their sovereign rights in a modern republic, and which was carried to Moscow, by Ivan III, the conqueror of Novgorod, and now no longer to be found; the Moscow bell which is still to be seen, was used only for religious purposes.

The churches and the convents form the only artistic monuments of Moscow. The Cathedral of the Assumption, in the centre of the Kremlin, is used for the coronation of the Emperors. That of Vassili Blajenoï is distinguished by its strange appearance.

There was some intention of building on Mount Vorobief a marble temple, but the project was never carried into effect, and that in consequence of strange occurrences. The Committee found on the estate belonging to Mr. Jakovlef, the father of the Russian refugee, Mr. Herzen, a marble quarry, which they began to open, by way of trial, with the owner's consent. Then, on the marble being found good, they,

without any further permission from the owner, covered his arable ground with it, and Mr. Jakovlef decided upon entering an action against them. The committee were ordered to pay as an indemnification, 100,000 rubles. The Emperor sent his aide-de-camp, Strekalof, to inquire into the case. The General allowed Mr. Jakovlef 1500 ruble assignats, acting on a law of Peter I, in respect to the allowing for damages caused by inundation. Water and marble, natural calamities and the acts of committees, are not to be confounded. Mr. Jakovlef then made a present of this money to the Invalids, as a sarcastic intimation of his dissatisfaction, and had the honour to receive in return through the Governor-General of Moscow, a reprimand from the Czar. Mount Vorobief was punished too, the temple not being erected on it.

The water conduits in Moscow are remarkable, which the town owes to the late Governor-General, Prince Demetrius Galitzin. The water is conveyed from Mytystche to the tower of Sukhoref, whence it flows throughout the town, full of fountains erected by VITALI, a distinguished sculptor, who, though his name is Italian, was born in Russia.

The theatre in Moscow was burnt down two years ago, which event produced circumstances too characteristic of the country to be passed over in silence. Workmen were employed in it, when the fire broke out, and the theatre, containing a great deal of combustible

matter, blazed with fury, so that there was no possibility of saving it. Though early in the morning, multitudes of the inhabitants flocked to the spot: the policemen and the firemen were at their post, and battalions of soldiers formed lines. The policemen dealt out blows with their fists among the mob, the firemen were at a loss to know what to do, the soldiers filled up the space without contributing to the order. A woman might be seen throwing herself down from the roof in despair, a workman appeared on the roofing calling for help. Nobody to render him it. The danger is imminent. Not a single man to expose himself to certain death. In this dense multitude, among these generous and brave people, can there be no one to help him? A young man stepped out of the midst, and resolutely went to work: he began to climb up the side of the building, and every heart followed with prayers for his success, but the rope he had with him was too short, the flames burst forth, and splinters flew about; still he added another piece to his rope, threw it up to the roof, but the man, what with fire, and what with fear, could not catch it. The anxiety of the spectators increased to an insupportable excess. At last the rope remained on the spout, and the workman was saved. "Who is the man that saved him?" cried the multitude. A carpenter, was the answer. Money, watches, jewels were thrown into his cap; again the policemen dealt out their blows, in a very Christian-like way. The cause of the fire was

ascribed to one of the workmen, who was burnt to death in the building.

The palace PETROVSKY, built by Catherine II, and rebuilt by Nicholas, is no masterpiece.

The convent of TROITZKI, 40 versts distant from Moscow, is the richest in Russia. Still at the time of the Tahtars, great donations flowed into it. The tomb of St. Sergius is literally overloaded with treasures, in the arrangement of which taste has not presided.

The distances from one place to another are the plague of Russia, but throughout that immense extent, there are neither castles, nor villas, nor ruins, worthy of notice. In compensation for this, the cottages of the peasants are pretty, and very similar to those of Switzerland.

In St. Petersburg, which is altogether one of the best cities in Europe, we have not mentioned the monuments of KUTUSOV and BARCLAY DE TOLLI, opposite to the cathedral of Kazan, for the very good reason that they do not deserve being mentioned. In Moscow, the monuments of MININ and POJARSKI, the deliverers of Russia from the Poles, would lay claim to be artistical but unjustly. At Simbirsk, there is a monument of KARAMZIN, historian to the Russian Court, and as I regard honour paid to the thinker more than that rendered to the warrior, I should be glad to see a monument reared to the honour of PUSHKIN, in the part where he was exiled. To be

sure he was made a gentleman-in-waiting to the Emperor, but when the Hereditary Grand Duke congratulated him on that distinction, he answered him by saying : "Your Imperial Highness is the first that has congratulated me."

The picture gallery in the Hermitage in the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg, contains Rembrandts of the first class—the best Poussins and Paul Potters, and also remarkable Ruysdalls. Of the latter of these, one was bought for £8000. Private men have also remarkable collections, that of Youssoupor in Moscow is famous.

In regard to national productions, Russian painting has till now been confined to religious subjects, and yet without producing anything of any consequence. Bad painters of holy images at Sousdal are more numerous than artists of distinction. Vorobieff's landscapes and Eastern scenes are anterior to the present reign. The Academy of Fine Arts is accustomed to send to Rome pupils for the completion of their studies. At the head of the most successful of these, we must mention Brulov, whose *Last Days of Pompeii* is a chef-d'œuvre. Jealousy alone prevented its being appreciated at the Paris Exhibition. Brulov died young, and was disgusted with life. His siege of Pskov is an historical picture of classical merit. As a portrait painter, he was also of the first rank.

We have already had occasion to speak of Aiva-

zowski's marine pieces, and now we shall notice the present Emperor's knowledge of pictures. In 1845, when in Rome, he went to the Vatican, attended by his minister of the court, Prince VOLKHONSKY; the Russian pupils of the academy of painting being present, he selected the paintings that were to be copied. An eye-witness told me that he pointed out many paintings without merit, saying: "They please me," and that it was mere chance when he lighted upon any good ones.

We will not stop to consider dancing as an art, but singing deserves some mention. Russian airs have been adopted even by Rossini. The national songs are generally melancholy, and yet are energetic and lively. The songs of the brigands, the Cossacks, and the soldiers, have an historical and literary value. Baron Delweg and Koltzof have composed songs of permanent continuance. "The Nightingale," "The Troika," (*the three-horse team*) have been brought before a European public by Sontag and Ivanof.

GLINKA composed Russian operas, great operas, which are indeed the commencement of that art in Russia, but, as in every other case, so in this, the first step is alone difficult.

Sacred singing is also greatly cultivated in Russia. The imperial chapel has a choir that travellers do not hesitate to pronounce superior to that of the chapel of Sextus, at Rome, but it is the only one in the whole country, and bad singing is more usual than good in the Russian churches.

THE CLUB PETROSHEVSKY.

GOVERNMENTS, like that of Russia, require, from time to time, conspiracies, in order, by the suppression of them, to infuse a salutary terror. The terror caused in Russia by the executions of 1826, continued to 1848, and in that year it was even Nicholas's turn to be afraid, when the February revolution in Paris was re-echoed in Vienna and Berlin. Instantly the Russian policemen became more polite, and the Czar was immediately inclined to emancipate the serfs at once, but the hereditary Grand Duke deterred him from so doing, saying, that that would be subverting the monarchy, and that the emancipation of slaves should be a gradual work.

The deplorable insurrection of June, 1848, in Paris, in which Russia seems to have had a hand, revived the hopes of the reactionary party in Germany, and the previously-made promise of Russian neutrality on the ground of every nation being free to determine in respect to its own government, ended in the Russian intervention in Hungary. The troops leaving the country to carry on the war, it was thought good policy to secure peace at home by public executions.

Petroshevsky is a Russian by birth (a great many Russian families have the Polish termination, sky); he was a functionary in the Asiatic department of the

Foreign-Office, a man of studious habits and independent fortune. He used to entertain some friends on Friday evenings. After the Revolution of 1848, these re-unions assumed the nature of meetings, called in France *clubs*. Resolutions were written down by the secretary of the club, Mr. Kashkin. Many of the young men who were in the habit of frequenting the club, entertained the opinions of Fourier, the well known French philosopher and socialist.

A certain Richter, quite a young boy, son to the chief of the medical department at the Home Ministry, requesting some money of his father, was asked by him, where he went to on Friday evenings. He then told him everything he knew about Petroshevsky's club.

Some days afterwards the father met another chief of the Home Department, and said to him : " How is the police conducted among us ? There are rebellious meetings in Petroshevsky's house, and no prosecutions are entered against them."

The fact was reported to Count Perovsky, the Home Minister, who was glad of an opportunity of distinguishing himself by the discovery of a plot unknown to the Police Minister, Count Orloff.

A man was appointed as a spy upon Petroshevsky. He took a cigar shop in Petroshevsky's house, and by means of money paid to Petroshevsky's servant, he procured a list of the names of the persons present at the last meeting.

Other discoveries corroborated this statement. An officer was arrested in Warsaw, for having drunk the health of General Bem, the Polish General in the Hungarian Revolution. He thought he was arrested on account of his acquaintance with Petroshevsky, and related all he knew about his club.

On the 24th of April, 1849, one Friday, 140 gendarmes were kept in readiness during the night, and then proceeded to arrest as many gentlemen in the town.

General Dubelt, Count Orloff's assistant, went himself at 2 o'clock in the morning to Petroshevsky, who was just going to bed after the conclusion of the meeting.

"I am come to fetch you," said the General, "you must come with me. Your papers shall be taken too. Have you any prohibited books?"

"Plenty!"

"Why do you keep such, pray?"

"I like them!"

"Well, you must dress yourself."

"I am accustomed at such an hour to be in a dressing gown!"

"But you do not know to what personage you will be brought!"

"It is your business to know where you have to carry me to!"

There was nothing left but taking him in his dressing gown.

A gendarme officer went to Kashkin, to arrest him. The brave young man hastily seized the book containing the minutes of the club, tore out the first leaf with the members' names on it, and endeavoured to swallow it, but the officer seized him by the throat, and pressed with such force, that the secretary was obliged to disgorge the list, which, on examination, was found to correspond with that already procured by the spy. Only one man among the number to be arrested, escaped, all the rest were taken to the citadel of Peter and Paul.

Several days afterwards, many other arrests took place, the particulars of one of which I will mention.

The *Kvartalnoï* (a policeman) went to a married man at night-time, and when he saw the man's wife, he said to himself, but loud enough to be heard : "Fine woman!" When in the street, riding in a *droshki*, and passing by a mob, the officer said to his prisoner : "We are the men that restrain the multitude; if we should slacken the reins, they would pull you noblemen in pieces; and still people speak against the police,—are they not useful?"

More than one hundred of these arrests proved to have been made on insufficient grounds, and the parties were set at liberty, the Police Ministry being itself interested in reducing the whole affair within the narrowest compass, as the discovery of the plot had been made by a different department. Out of the whole number, only twenty-one persons were

reserved for trial. Each person arrested received a packet of papers with questions, to be answered by writing. Among other questions proposed was this : whether they had any connection with Bakunin, Golovin, and Sazonof, three Russian emigrants, which according to truth, received a negative answer from each.

The first committee of inquiry seemed to the Emperor to have been too indulgent, and was therefore superseded by another under the presidency of General NABOKOF, the Commander of the Grenadier Corps. He conducted himself tolerably well, and said, that in his old age he had the luck to be initiated in Phalansterism (the system of Fourier). One of the accused was clever enough to represent this school in a simply commercial light, and on that account appeared less guilty. The Emperor wished to see Kashkin himself, his father having been exiled for having been implicated in the plot of 1825.

The Czar told him, that he would pardon him on condition of disclosing everything in relation to the club, but the young man answered : " How did you come to think that I was a coward ? I am convinced that neither you, nor any of your family, are capable of rendering my native country happy."

No little trouble was given to General Dubelt by MORDVINOF, son of the former Chief of the Civil Detective Police, formerly the General's colleague. The son not sharing the opinions of his father, General

Dubelt was commissioned to give him a reprimand, to which the young man, though only 18 years of age, replied with dignity.

Of all the accused, the richest was Speshnef, the owner of many thousands serfs. He wrote to the Emperor from the prison a letter, requesting permission to leave his fortune to his illegitimate children. The Emperor replied, that before he was condemned, he might, as any one else, dispose of his property as he liked. He appointed his mother his whole and sole executrix. But his brother-in-law was not satisfied thus to give up his prospect of receiving the fortune. For his purpose, he became reconciled to his wife, from whom he had been separated some time, and the power of gold being put in requisition, General Dubelt represented to the Emperor the impropriety of depriving legal heirs of their rightful inheritance, upon which the Czar was induced to withdraw his word.

The accused were condemned to death, as usual in such cases in Russia, and, on a cold winter's day, they were brought to the Semenovsky Place, to be shot. But at the moment when everything was ready for the execution taking place, an aide-de-camp of the Emperor's appeared in all haste, and proclaimed the Czar's clemency. Hard labour in Siberia, and degradation to the rank of common soldiers, were a commutation of punishment.

When Petroshevsky was dressed in a sheep-skin

cloak to be carried away, looking on the dress, he said : "I must look like a Tungus."

"What a mean soul you must have!" exclaimed General GRETCH, who was standing by, "to jest on the situation in which you are!"

"I should like to see you in this situation, to see what sort of a face you would set."

Petroshevsky was sent to the lead mines—the worst of all, Kashkin was made a soldier ; DOSTOIEVSKY, a well-known author of the romance : "*Poor people,*" was exiled to Siberia too.

THE SHORES OF THE WHITE AND ICE SEAS.

LAPLANDERS, SAMOEDS, MURMANZIS,
ETC., ETC.

If you transport yourselves to the shores of the Northern Ocean, profound sorrow will seize your soul ; you see the end of the creation, and no life nor vegetation near you. Still some distance off there live men, and the love of the Laplander to his country is unquestionable. There is some life indeed in this desert of ice : storms at sea, moving blocks of ice, and on land, winds, the northern lights, and fields of snow glittering with gems. What a desperate life ! The inhabitants, therefore, must be of a different nature, suitable to so monotonous a life, and, indeed, the Laplander is resigned, of constant equanimity, and limited in his wants. Yet for the possession of this poor country, bloody wars have been fought. Karelis have several times attacked the Laplanders, and, according to the latter, have always been repulsed ; Russian and Finnish colonies are dispersed along the shores of these inhospitable seas.

We now witness the change from a Nomade to a

settled life. Till now the Laplander has been a hunter, but game becoming scarce, he is compelled to settle. The lake Erane abounding in fish, the inhabitants never forsake its shores. Great flocks of reindeer are domesticated, whilst wild ones are seldom to be met with. However, the life of the Lapland fishermen preserves something of the Nomade life; in the spring, he goes even as far as Norway to fish; in summer he rests, consuming the produce of his labour, and when he has abundance, it is his best season; in autumn, he goes hunting, and in winter, he must live by economy. The Laplander wears, in winter, a coat of reindeer-skin, made like a shirt, and called *Peski*, trowsers and slippers of the same skin, with the hair cut off; in summer, he substitutes a cloth shirt for that of skin. Both sexes are dressed in the same manner. The caps worn by the men present great variety, and the women wear an ornament on the head in the form of a horse shoe, three inches high. Like all fishing tribes, the Laplanders are not distinguished for their cleanliness.

The Laplander no longer remembers the name of his old gods. Still he knows *Seitas*, household gods of wood or stone. But this mode of worship was put an end to by PEDEB PAIWIA, of the village of PALDO TARF. He prayed to his god to restore his reindeer to life, and as he did not he begged him to give some sign of his being a divinity, and, upon no reply being made, he broke it to pieces. The people assembled, and

were on the point of killing him, when he cried out, "Let the idol do it." Soon after that, Christianity was introduced, and the Lutheran worship established.

The Laplanders belong to the Mongolian race, and have all their features; but are small in stature.

I am speaking of Lapland Proper, beginning at the Polar Circle, and further south is Finnish Lapland, a country frequently visited by German and English travellers. A few miles from TORNEA, rises Mount AAWA, where persons come from all parts to see the sun not setting. A neighbouring Mount called LUPIO, contains many natural steps and caverns. The Kengis mine on the Tornea is one of the oldest in the world, and at the junction of the Tornea with the MUONIO there is a cataract with a fall of seventy-two feet.

The KARELIS of the government of Archangel, neighbours to the Laplanders, are of Finnish extraction, and like the Finns, worshipped trees. There are still some Shamans (sorcerers) to be met with, but the Greek Church is the established religion. There are more songs than sayings (*Saga*) in the mouths of the people.

The Murmanzis are an intermixture of Russians, Laplanders, and Karelis, and their name is derived from *Muore*, the sea, and *man*. They are heretics, or old believers, making the sign of the cross with the

thumb and two little fingers, instead of with the thumb and the two fore-fingers, and destroying any vessel out of which any one had drank not of their own creed. Still they are the greatest drunkards in the world.

KOLA, the most northern town in Russia, possesses some life and riches. The girls in the town wear head-dresses of pearls to the value of £20., and in winter, when the cold is from twenty-six to thirty degrees Reaumur, they wear only silk velvet clothes to protect them from it. The Ice or Russian mountains are here easy to be constructed, and offer a lively amusement during Carnival.

The Government of Archangel contains 250 square miles, having a superficies more than twice as large as Great Britain and Ireland.

The mouth of the Northern Dvina was discovered in 1554, by Richard Chancellor, and Archangel became the only port in Russia open for foreign trade. The harbour is at the island of Solembolsk, and the dock-yards are twenty miles below the town. In the town worthy of notice are the Bazaar, the Marine Hospital, the Gymnasium, and the Seminary.

Fifty versts from Kem is the Convent of Solovetski, founded in 1429, and serving now for exiles.

KALMAGHORI was the celebrated fortress of the Biamiers, a Tchud or Finnish nation, of which there are no traces any longer to be found. The cattle of Kalmaghori is the best in Russia, of Dutch breed, and imported there by Peter the Great.

At **MESEN** (345 versts distant from Archangel), the country of **SAMOIEDS** begins. They are still Pagans, and when they are converted to Christianity, it is through deceit, remaining at bottom true to **NUM**, their Jupiter, the god of thunder, the sun and the stars, and the creator of all nature. He is also the guardian of the cattle, and is, on that account, also named **LILIBAMBAERTJE**. The Samoieds have also many Fetishes called **HAHE**, and spirits called **TADEBTSIAS**, whose servants are **TADIBS** or Sorcerers. Besides, the Samoieds make a god of every rarity in nature, as, for instance, large stones, ornamenting them with pieces of coloured cloth, and carrying them away with them, or if too heavy, worshipping them where they are. The **SJADAEI** are idols with human features of both sexes. When having no wood or stone, they make Hahes of ice, for temporary purposes, as, for instance, for swearing by them. They swear also by the snout of the bear: cutting off a piece of it, and holding it in the air, they exclaim: "May the bear devour me, if I do not keep the oath." And indeed they do keep their oath better than Christians do.

The Samoieds of the Tundra **TIMAN**, have almost been converted to Christianity since the plague of 1833, when they lost 20,000 reindeer.

In marriage, instead of the man receiving a dower with the woman, he gives her father a number of reindeer, a custom easily accounted for, as a com-

pensation for the loss of his daughter's services, and as a remuneration for the service she will now render to her husband.

The Samoieds eat their meat raw, whilst the blood flows down from the mouth. They consume great quantities of brandy; when drunk, they roll in the snow, taking the precaution before they lie still, to turn their faces from the wind, lest they should be frozen. On a festival, numbers of such besotted creatures may be seen on the ground round the public-houses or their own cabins, fast asleep. It is a disgrace to the Government, not to take better care of these people by withholding such poison from them.

SIBERIAN TRIBES.

**OSTIAKS, TCHUKTCHIS, YAKUTS, BURIATES,
SOETS, &c.**

On the Eastern side of the Ural chain of mountains, live the Ostiaks,* in the neighbourhood of Obdorsk (from the river Ob, and *Dor, mouth*), the most northern town in Western Siberia. This tribe have lost their primitive features, so that it is difficult to say whether they are of Finnish or Tahtar extraction. That part of this tribe who support themselves by feeding reindeer, become more and more like the Samoïeds, whilst the other part living by fishing, have great difficulty in obtaining a subsistence. One half of the Ostiaks have turned Christians, and live under a complete Russian administration. Those in the neighbourhood of Obdorsk have preserved their ancient manners, and notwithstanding their rudeness and state of infancy, it is to be confessed, that they are better than the former. Hence, the inhabitants of Obdorsk itself, though they also eat their meat raw, are of dissolute manners, being of a wretched origin.

The highest divinity of the Ostiaks is called *Turum*,

* The word *ural* is derived from the Samoied word *jerm*, prince, the name applied to the highest mountain in every chain.

which yields not to the influence of sacrifices, which are therefore offered in profusion to the household gods, each family having its own Penates. There is no other kind of worship but that of sacrifices: the "Shamans" devote themselves alone to magic and medicine. The Ostiaks swear by fire and water, and also by the snout of the bear. Polygamy is allowed, but there are very few of them who have the means to maintain many wives, who are always kept in a state of serfdom, without the right of inheritance. The families are under the guidance of the elders, who act also as judges, and are subordinate to princes recognised by the Russian government.

The TCHUKTCHIS, whose name is borne by a north-eastern cape in Siberia, are a kind of mercantile tribe, between North America and Siberia, who with their families pass in wretched boats, the Behring Straits, and frequent the fair of Ostrovnoye. To make this journey they require five months, riding in sledges drawn by reindeer, for feeding which, during that long time, they take with them moss in sufficient quantities, as it is not to be found on the road. Still they carry goods to the fair to the amount of 200,000 ruble assignats. With them a pound of tobacco represents monetary unity. They call the Russian Emperor "The Sun," but all attempts made to convert them to Christianity have failed, their language being too poor to allow the bible to be translated

into it, and the endeavour to employ the characters of other languages having also proved unsuccessful. For a pound of tobacco, it is easy to get a boy to consent to be baptized, but such is their dread of cold water, that after the first plunge, they run away from the hands of the priests, and, without submitting to the two remaining plunges required for the completion of the ceremony, they run and demand the promised pound of tobacco. Human sacrifices are still made among the Tehuktchis. So in 1814, a dreadful epidemic raging among their tribe, the Shamans declared that one of the chiefs of the tribe, of the name of Kotchene, well-beloved, was to be sacrificed as a victim. The disease continuing, Kotchene himself consented to be put to death, but nobody dared to put him to death, and his own sons were compelled to strangle him. These people indeed are very cruel, deformed children and decrepid old men being destroyed. No idea can be formed of the filthiness of the *youries* (tents) of the Tehuktchis. The effluvia in these tents need only pass over a visitor's dress for a few moments, to leave an odour for several days. In honour of visitors, it is the custom for the women to appear before them naked and dress their hair in their presence. The food is of such a kind, that though offered to the stranger with kindness, he could never touch it.

The YAKUTS call themselves SAKALARS, from the

name of one of their ancient chiefs. Their features are of the Tahtar kind. They are shepherds and hunters, and inhabit the neighbourhood of Yakutsk. They are of an iron constitution, so insensible to the cold of Siberia, that they dress themselves in the open air, and sleep covered only with their cloak, called *Sanayak*. They have such extraordinary sight, that they can see the eclipses of the satellites of Jupiter with the naked eye, and are equally astonishing for their memory. For their food, they use horse-flesh, and grease, a kind of porridge made of the rind of the larch tree. They smoke such strong tobacco, that they become intoxicated by it, not, however, so as to supersede the use of brandy. Their cabins have no glass windows, but openings closed with fine reindeer skin. They present votive offerings, consisting of canes ornamented with horse-hair, to the spirit of the forest, whose praises they sing in songs, wherein they describe a beautiful country, from whatever motive, whether from a superstitious fear, or from the remembrance of some more happy country. They are dissemblers, quarrelsome, and vindictive. They travel in sledges (*narta*) drawn by dogs.

The BURIATES' form of worship is like that of Buddhism in India, of which the mother of Chigemune is the object. Their saints are called Burkhangs, and the language of Tangut is their sacred language. The Dalai Lama of Tibet is the head of the Buriates

Priesthood. The Khamba Lama lives under the same roof with the Lama of the next rank, in order to facilitate the passing of the soul of the former, at the moment of death, into the latter, who becomes, his successor, and, who, according to their creed, inherits his soul. The Khamba Lama alone wears the conical mitre of the Indians, the other principal Lamas having hats like ancient helmets. The temples, externally of Gothic architecture, are ornamented with sacred pictures, among which is to be remarked the Cyclop, with three eyes and a dog's snout. Their sacred books are in Mongol writing, which runs from left to right, whilst the Chinese language runs from right to left. Intercourse with India is kept up, and many Indian objects are to be found in the temples.

A Russian traveller says, that the TUNGUZES and the YUKAGUIRS are happy enough not to know that they are separated from their own country, but still they do not know the pleasure of home, and the Yukaguir of Ostrovnoye are so poor, that they have no nets for fishing, and hunting becoming less and less productive, their means of subsistence are not sure, all which constitute a state far from happy.

The Tunguzes are said to be of a better character than the Yakutes, being no friends to chicanery as the latter are, and watching over the chastity of their maidens. When girls are found to have been seduced, they are punished in a very strange way, being taken

to some bush, and beaten with the twigs until every twig has been cut off, and every leaf has fallen from every twig by the use of it.

Dried fish is their usual food in winter, though they sometimes indulge themselves, by way of a dessert, with snow. Even a chief may after his meal be seen to take a pocket-knife, cut a piece of snow and eat it as a dainty, or a sweatmeat.

The Tunguses live in the north of Siberia, and belong to the Tahtar race: the Aborigines of North America belong unquestionably to the Mongolian race.

The Soets are a people very little known, settled on the southern side of Mount Sayanes, and also by Mr. Tchikhatchef called Soions. The name seems to be generic, including Finnish and Tahtar tribes. A great many Tahtar words are found in their language. The Tabunut Soets acknowledged the Russian power in 1689, their chief SAIN-OBIN having promised to pay the *yassak* (tribute) in fur. On that occasion, the Soets kissed the mouth of a musket, killed a dog with a sword, and licked the bloody weapon, each drinking a cup of cold water, all which they regarded as an oath of allegiance.

Still the Soets are the subjects of the Chinese Emperor too, and are entrusted to guard the frontier stones of the Chinese territories, opposite to which the Cossacks guard the wooden boundary marks of

the Russian Empire. However they have not much knowledge of the Chinese Superiors. It is a general custom among these northern tribes, including the Samoieds, to ask news of the health of the Czar, whenever they enter upon conversation. Once a Soet *Darga*, or the Overseer of the frontier, said to a Cossack *Uriadnik* (a sergeant), a Russian overseer : " We are always speaking of the health of the Czar, but what is his name?" The Cossack proudly answered the question, pronouncing the name Nicholas, at the same time demanding the name of the *Bogdykhan*, that is, the Chinese Emperor ; he Darga was very much chagrined at not knowing it. He then made enquiry of his fellow-countrymen, but no one could inform him. He sent a messenger to another settlement with no better result.

The Soets have of late years become exceedingly poor, and are often reduced to such an extremity as to eat the flesh of animals found dead, or to kill their horses which they need in travelling.

The Soets belong to the Minussin district, and in everything resemble the *Attrys*, *Beltins* and *Mras*. The last of these are employed in getting iron, and in the manufacturing of arms, the others in hunting and fishing. They have all black eyes and black hair, are of a middle stature with broad shoulders, prominent cheek-bones, and brown complexion.

The peninsular of Kamtschatka, is inhabited by

KAMTSCHADALES in the southern part, and by KOURIAKS and OHLUTOKS in the northern. The former employ dogs; the latter, reindeer. The two last tribes are but few in number, being about 1000 each. In winter they settle in towns or in the mountains, and in summer carry on fishing on the sea-shore. The Kamtschadale language is a very poor one, so as to be incapable of expressing the simplest things. Therefore the people are diligently instructed in the Russian language, and schools have been annexed to the several churches, of which there is an abundance. The Aborigines are taught agriculture also. Though the climate is exceedingly cold, so much so indeed that the governor of the country has a subterranean habitation for the winter, still flax, hemp, and general vegetables, may be grown.

There are in Petropavlovski two monuments to the memory of Behring and De la Perouse.

The most interesting travels in Russia by Englishmen are those made by the son of the English Admiral Cochrane: who, without money, and without any knowledge of the language, crossed the whole of the Russian empire on foot, and married a Kamtschadale girl, whom he educated and brought with him to England.

LIGHTS AND SHADOWS OF RUSSIA.

THE RUSSIAN ARMY.

It seems that all that ought to have been said against war, has not been said, or not been said as it should have been, for just now Europe is again in flames, and blood flows in torrents.

There is not so dreadful an art as that of war, and nothing else is wanted but a false education, to render it honorable. The defects of tradespeople may partly be ascribed to the discredit which lies upon their condition, but all the prestiges, with which the military career is surrounded, are insufficient, to erase its horrors. If war imposes any sentiment of dignity and valour, it excites feelings of cruelty and barbarity to a much greater extent. Tacticians play with men as chess-players do with pawns, and when there is no other motive for this horrible game but the caprice and the ambition of a single man, we cannot but turn away from the sight, ashamed of our very existence as men.

At the battle of Leipsic, one of the charges of the Russian cavalry was repulsed. General Soukhasanet, seeing that the flight of that corps would break his line, advanced batteries and fired upon

his own troops and those of the enemy. "He is an eagle," said the Emperor to Narishkin, who replied, saying: "No, your Majesty, he is but a falcon." General Kuprianoff, at Shumla, in order to provoke the Seraskier to fight, sacrificed the whole regiment of Murom, and when the Turks were slaughtering those 4000 men, retreat was cut off.

When under arms there must be no reasoning, in which sense the Russian army is the best, as employing least reason. If also the best army is the most passive, the Russian army has more than one right to that claim, because it undoubtedly submits with the greatest docility to become food for cannon. Nicholas said in respect to the present war, that he would send a million of men; if that were not sufficient, that he would order another million to be sent; and should that also be insufficient, that he would solicit for another million, and they also would go.

Napoleon said in St. Helena, that with a Russian army he would conquer the world; but the leisure hours he enjoyed in his exile caused him to fall into many contradictions. Still it was with the French army that he almost conquered the world, its vanguard being Piedmontese or Polish troops. Yet this army was routed by the English and the Prussians at Waterloo, for the latter of which he professed the utmost contempt. He also said, that the Russian army was the best, because the common soldier was obedient, and the officer well-instructed. Still a

Russian officer of the Guards, returning from France, said to the Grand Duke Michael, that he had observed more discipline in the French, than in the Russian troops, and the Grand Duke replied, that it was quite true. Now we learn that the Turkish army is better than the Russian, but that it is not well officered. A bagatelle ! The officers form the non-commissioned officers, and they the common soldiers ; armies without commanders are lost.

Formerly, the Russian infantry was considered the best, being as firm as a wall. "It is not sufficient to kill a Russian," said Napoleon, "you must throw him to the ground." Now the Russian cavalry has been brought to a state of superiority. The plains of Russia are well suited for the breed of horses, and the best horses make the best cavalry. Formerly, the Russian cavalry was in part supplied with horses from Germany, and now Russia supplies the Prussian cavalry with horses. The Frenchman is a bad horseman, even though Napoleon owed his greatest successes to his cavalry, which were horsed in Germany, the Poles also contributing greatly to those successes. A Prussian officer said to me, that the Russians are bold on horseback, but have not a good seat. Great things are expected from the introduction of lancers among the Russian Cuirassiers, by Diebitch ; I confess that I do not comprehend why, the squares of the infantry being broken by the breasts of the horses, and not by the weapons of the

riders. The artillery is the least perfect in the Russian army, more attention being paid to the rapidity of shooting than to the aim.

"Victory," said Napoleon, "in the end is in possession of the largest battalions;" but great numbers of the Russian army are nowhere but on paper. From the 1,200,000 men that figure there we must deduct 400,000 soldier boys, 100,000 interior guards, the Siberian corps, which with that of Orenburg amounts to 70,000 men; the Caucasus employs 200,000 men. However, the infantry regiments have lately been increased by one battalion each, and those of cavalry by two squadrons each. The guards muster 99,000 men strong in time of peace, who in time of war are reduced to two-thirds of that number. The Grenadier corps is the best, but it contains only 35,000 men. The Fifth corps is the worst, and the Fourth is the most numerous. The Cossacks in 1812 furnished their greatest quota, 60,000 men. The greatest number that Russia is able to put on a war footing for a foreign campaign is 400,000 men. After fifteen years' service the men are disbanded, but remain subject to be recalled till after the expiration of twenty-four years; of such reserved troops, the last recal has produced 300,000 men.

When Napoleon was on the point of entering Russia, in 1812, he had some conversation with one of the Emperor Alexander's aide-de-camps, who tried to dissuade him; Napoleon replied, that the Russians

had no Commander-in-Chief of any capacity, but mere division generals. It was at the time that the Emperor of France believed in his *star*. Before he left Paris, General Caulincourt, who, being well acquainted with Russia from having been French Ambassador there, endeavoured to dissuade him from that campaign, in consideration of the climate; but Napoleon took him by the hand, and leading him to the window (he was in the Palace of St. Cloud), said : "General, do you see this star?" "No, Sire!" answered he. "Look well, there it is." "I do not see it. "Well, I see it!"

However, Marshal *Morozoff* (frozen), as the French call the Russian winter, was not the only general who fought for the Russians. Koutouzof, Yermolof, Bagration, Bogavout, Koulnef, signalized themselves in that war. It is high time that the French give up their assertion, that the frost alone destroyed their army. Why did it not do the same with the Russians? They are more sensitive as to cold than southern nations, living in very heated houses. Frost becomes fatal when united to famine, and the Russian army was well fed, whilst the French were obliged to retreat the same way they came, which had been completely laid waste. Now this was not in consequence of the frost, but of the battle of Taurutino, which does not figure on the triumphal arches of the French, and which is scarcely mentioned in their history. Napoleon left Moscow on a beautiful day

in November, and directed his steps towards the South of Russia, where he designed to pass the winter. He crossed the whole government of Kaluga, and in the government of Tula took place the battle of Taurutino. "What was the issue of it?" asked a Colonel of the French artillery once. "Inferior officers," answered he, "cannot judge of a battle; all that I know is, the day before we took one way, and after the battle another way." Now this new road was the fatal road of Smolensk.

Powerful in defence, as people say, Russia is weak in attack. She has always indeed begun a campaign badly: this was the case in Turkey in 1828, and in Poland in 1830. Russia is a bear which must receive a scratch, to be urged to exert its utmost strength. Still the Russians have not beaten the Turks alone, but also Swedes and Prussians, the latter in the seven years' war.

We have spoken of the Russian Commissariat, as the greatest plague of the Russian army. In the Turkish war, the soldiers remained whole weeks without food, and 60,000 horses died for want of hay. Even the arms are of the worst kind; the non-commissioned officers in the cavalry have alone swords that would cut, the common men being obliged to break the shoulders of the enemy with their sabres, in which way many of the Turks were wounded. The muskets of the infantry are generally spoilt by the frequent use of the ramrod in cleaning them.

Still the whole war of 1828 was carried on because the Russian Commissioners would not give in their accounts.

As an instance of the blind obedience of the Russian soldiers, may serve the following anecdote. Standing before a besieged fortress a recruit said to an old soldier: "Uncle, isn't the fortress a very strong one?" "Very strong, indeed." "It is not to be taken." "Oh no!" "But if ordered to take it?" "If ordered, we shall take it."

There is a gulf between the Russian officers and the common soldiers, the former all being noblemen. Twenty-four years of service, bad bread, being caned almost every day, three farthings a day for pay, is all the Russian soldiers have to look forward to, and all his reward for braving death. The French army owes its victories to every soldier "wearing a Marshal's staff on his back." The Russian soldier, even after twenty-four years of service, cannot become an officer unless he knows how to read and write; though even to such, some encouragement should be given. The following episode of the Revolutionary War in Hungary may furnish an example.

A Magyar hussar had his head split in two, and lay in an inn as dead. Neither sprinkling his face with water nor any other means could bring him to himself. Suddenly the trumpet resounded for a charge, the hussar got up, bound up his head with a handkerchief, jumped into the saddle, and being

convinced that he should die, he made a dreadful carnage among the enemy. General Bem observed him, and after the battle addressed him as an officer. "Pardon me, General, I cannot, I do not know how to read and write." "Well then, what would you like to have?" "The officer's pay would satisfy me!" "Well, you shall have it, and a gold sword-knob too." The hussar lived, and when he had to go on guard, the sergeant politely requested him to go on guard.

How different the conduct of Nicholas in the Turkish war of 1828, when he went to a military hospital. A soldier dreadfully wounded was shown to him; he turned away from him with disgust, and said: "Give him the Order of St. George." The dying man answered: "Rather let your Imperial Majesty set up a wooden cross for me."

The Russian soldiers willingly go to death, to escape a worse life.

Cæsar, morituri te salutant!

FIELD MARSHAL PASKIEVITCH.

THE reign of Nicholas has not even formed generals: Yermolof, Voronzof, belong to the age of Alexander, and the Czar is compelled to have recourse to Paskievitch again, notwithstanding his old age. We must form an exact idea of his ability. There exists a very curious book, the work of Tosewski on

the campaign of 1831 in Poland, with marginal notes by Paskievitch.

In one page the author says that the Russians were beaten. "The Russians can never be defeated," wrote the marshal in the margin. In another place you might read this modest remark of the warrior's: "Even Napoleon would be jealous of such a disposition of the troops." All the observations are in bad French.

The glory of Paskievitch dates from his campaign in Persia, yet it was very easy to beat the Persians. The campaign in Asiatic Turkey is appreciated even by foreign militaires; still but irregular troops opposed these Russians. The storm of Warsaw was quelled by Toll the chief of the staff, and cost 12,000 soldiers. The treachery of Georgey decided the fate of Hungary more than the efforts of Rüdiger and Luders. However, Paskievitch has been successful till now, and for a general, success is the best quality. Though of a common mind, he is proud, bold, and prudent.

His intimacy with Prince Koslovsky, one of the cleverest Russian liberals and a friend of the Poles, does him great honour, and his administration of Poland has not shown him either cruel or arbitrary, as has been the case with so many Russian Generals.

B. B. was under trial for badly supplying the army in the Turkish war in 1829. The commissioner of the Polish campaign, General Pogodin, was no less

rapacious. Paskievitch once said of him: "If he has gained only four millions, he is a stupid man, but if he has got six millions, he ought to be hanged. I think he has done something about midway."

Paskievitch received from the Czar a present of one million rubles assignat, for the campaign of Persia. The money was not sufficient to pay for Kagula, the estate of Roumianzof, in Bessarabia, and he let it out to the crown. The Czar forgave him this debt.

The Princess Paskievitch is accustomed in Warsaw to accept valuable presents in vases and pictures. It seems, of course, very strange, but it is true, and a Polish gentleman, desiring to obtain a passport for travelling in foreign countries, or wishing to be on a good footing with Russian authorities, generally begins with making such offerings.

**RUSSIAN LITERATURE SINCE THE TIME OF
PUSHKIN.***

Was will die Sonne hier, da längst Umnachtung
Ich über den Horizont der Welt verbreitet,
Wo Jeder kniet vor mir in Selbstverachtung ?

PLATEN.

Whilst Byronism is an exception in English literature, it is the general feature of superior minds in Russia. I have just now a Russian poem before me, *Humor*, so full of despair, that there seemed nothing for the author to do but to destroy himself. *Eugene Onegin*, by Pushkin, is a young man disgusted with life, a dandy, well-informed, annoyed and annoying, a character occasionally found in other countries, akin to Tchazki by GRIBOIEDOF, in his "Sufferings through Intellect." The latter fled from Russia to foreign countries, and the former settled in Odessa.

Petchorin, "the Hero of our own time," by Lermontof, is the same character, but further developed: he believes neither in love nor friendship: he does wrong to himself and others. It is the production of a young man, and Lermontof stands higher as a lyric poet, particularly towards the close of his life, than as a prose writer. All his heroes are personifi-

* For the Russian literature down to the time of Pushkin, see my work *La Russie sous Nicolas 1er*, Paris, 1845.

cations of the idea expressed by Prince Viazemsky in his verse: "He was in haste to feel, in haste to live."

Lermontof was heir to Pushkin. Had he lived longer he would have equalled him, but he died, and of the same death as Pushkin, both having been shot in a duel, the latter by D'Antes Heckeeren, and the former by Martinof. One of the first poems by Lermontof was a prayer to the Czar to avenge Pushkin. But he did not appreciate his own verses, in which he said, that a cat may easily tear a nightingale to pieces, with her sharp claws, but the loss of its sweet voice will not be compensated by the smooth skin of the cat. Heckeeren was sent back again to France, and Martinof incarcerated in a monastery for one year.

Gogol's death once more proved that despair is the fate of every thinker in Russia. He carried with him to the tomb the mystery of his melancholy end. He did not indeed display, in that solemn moment great strength of mind. Did he regret that he had not fought against tyranny, or that he had exaggerated the follies of private men? The manuscripts that he burnt, were they of a comic nature, as his "Revisor," or were they in praise of power, and a compromise of conscience as his "Letters to Friends," which was rewarded by the Czar with an annual pension of 6000 rubles?"

I could do nothing better than let Gogol describe his own talent himself:—

"My heroes, said he are near the soul, because they proceed from the soul; all my last productions are the history of my own soul A great deal has been said about me, I have been scrutinized in many respects, but my predominant nature has not been defined. Pushkin alone understood it. He always said to me, that no one before me had the talent so clearly to exhibit the dulness of life, to know how with the same strength to sketch the stupidity of a vulgar man This is my principal quality, belonging to me alone, and not possessed by others."

Pushkin was already dead at the time of Gogol's last and best production. Still he severely criticized the *Revisor*, in one of the first numbers of *The Contemporary*, a review established by him. He said therein, that every truth is not artistical, all dulness not interesting. Yet he may afterwards have changed his opinion.

Gogol also informs us that he took himself for the mirror of his productions. "People do not know," says he, "that laughing at my errors, they laughed at me. I had not one single vice of enormity in me, nor one virtue to be regarded as a picture, but a collection of many disgusting features I have endowed my heroes with my own vices in addition to theirs. Taking some bad quality in myself, I followed it in another state, and in another career; I endeavoured to represent it as my mortal

foe, which would have most sensibly injured me; I persecuted it with malice, irony, and with whatever else I could."

People may fancy then what pretty little monsters issued from Gogol's pen. Many of his heroes are disgusting characters; his first productions are not artistical, but his, *Taras Bulba*, is a kind of Cossack Iliad, a pretty epopee in prose. His *Revisor* is overcharged, but his *Dead Souls* is classical, the hero of which in his travels shows whatever is ridiculous in Russian life. *The Memoirs of a Fool* is one of his best minor productions.

It is well known that stories and tales are the principal branch in Russian literature. They are indeed more easy to write than novels, but also more interesting to read.

Count SOLLOHUB has, since his *High World*, and *The Tarantass* (The Barouche), produced nothing more. PANAUF has also been exhausted since his work: *A Morning on the Nevski Prospect*.

IVAN TOURGENEF, in his *Narratives of a Hunter*, has risen to no ordinary height.

DRUJININ wrote *Pauline Saks* and *The Narratives of Alexis Dmitrievitch*. Love is the subject of the former, and friendship that of the latter tale.

GONTCHAROF, the author of *A Common Story*, has presented practical persons in opposition to romantic sufferers, but instead of carrying out the idea, has subjected them to suffering through want of heart.

OSTROVSKY has met with local success in his plays : *Our own People will agree together*, and *The Poor Betrothed Maiden*.

MAIKOF is a poet of an ancient style, without affectation, as may be seen in his *Goblet* and *Anacreon*.

KHOMIAKOF has again awaked in patriotic poems, as *Russia*, *England*, &c. He prophesied ruin to England, which will not be saved by its gold, and said that the power of Russia is not material but spiritual.

OGAREF is the most poetical of all, and NEKRASSOV, the least of all. There is also a poetess of the name of Mrs. STCHERBIN.

The Russian reviews are not inferior to the English, and are distinguished for the notice of foreign literature. *The Muscovite* is the best of all, thanks to Mr. POGODIN, the learned editor.

RUSSIAN NOBILITY.

The Sclavonians knew nothing of a nobility, or of a middle class, being all democrats, as nations generally are in their origin. Even yet the Montenegrians, who are in my view nothing but a tribe of Cossacks, ignore every difference of state, and the Servians are not much more knowing. Boyars and Voievods were military chiefs, the former becoming a civil dignity in Russia at a late period.*

The Wariagian Princes who went to Russia in the ninth century were the first princes there. The custom of dividing the estate among the sons of the reigning prince was introduced by that dynasty: so that principalities and princes were increased to an enormous extent, until Ivan III established the unity of the Empire, and reduced the princely houses to an equality with the other noble families, registering them all together in the *Velvet Book*. Still the greatest part of the principal families in Russia are the legitimate descendants of RURIK, the first reigning prince in Russia. In consequence, there are some forty families in Russia of more noble descent than the house of Romanof, elected from among the simple nobility. Till Peter I, there were no other

* The word *boyar* is derived from *boy*, fight, and *jary*, furious. Hence no reason for the addition of a *d*.

titles but that of prince, but distinction in the field or in the council obtained for many names more honour than that conferred by title. In Russia, all the members of a family share the title, so that there are hundreds of princes GALITZIN and DOLEGOROUKY to be met with. Since the time that the Emperors have been in the habit of conferring titles, many families have voluntarily renounced their titles, and among others we may mention the TATISTCHER, whose arms bear a princely crown, a purple ermine, and the motto: "not by Documents."

The rights of the Russian nobleman are limited to the privilege of the possession of serfs, the power to enter the service in the rank of a subaltern officer, and the claim of exemption from corporal punishment. They do not pay taxes unless carrying on trade, but are responsible for the payment of the taxes imposed on their peasants.

The Russian noblemen were quite Scythians in their manners. We learn from history, that a Prince L..... and a V..... were flogged for having stopped the mail and plundered the bags. The Western nobles were indeed in the middle age nothing better than brigands, but the facts to which we have just alluded, happened under Alexis. In 1664 we see a Russian ambassador at an audience before the Shah of Persia vomit into his hat, upon which the Shah exclaimed, that the Moscovites were the dirtiest of all the Franks.*

* Vide Chardin *Voyage en Perse.* 8

A certain Jdanof presented the Emperor Peter I with his book: *The Unity of the Faith*, wherein he said, that the Russo-Greek belief ought to be spread through the whole world. The Czar honoured him by drinking a glass of brandy with him, and told him to keep the book, till he received further orders, and then the author writes:

“For the Lord God’s having allowed me to see his serene Majesty, and to hear kind words from his holy lips, I must with a heart and soul full of joyful gladness, give thanks to God, and sing for his serene Majesty every day of my life, Vivat! Vivat! Vivat! Amen!”

From such a mode of speaking, which was not that of a fool, but that of a learned man, we may judge what was the conduct of noblemen whom Peter I used to beat with his cane.

Potemkin was of low nobility, and was often even in want before he became Catharine II’s lover. A neighbour of his often assisted him. When in favour, Potemkin bid him come to his court, and kept him there a long time without any explanation. At last, the gentleman who was very tall, asked leave to retire home. “I beg your pardon,” said the newly-created Prince, “I have bet a wager, that my leaper would jump over your head.” He gave a signal, and the leaper performed the feat. The gentleman went away very angry, but afterwards they were again reconciled to each other.

Potemkin used to play at cards for precious stones instead of money. His partner, a Major General, one evening having lost a great deal, cheated the Prince by giving him stones of inferior value. Potemkin discovered the deception, and revenged himself in a singular manner. He went the next day in a carriage with his friend for a ride, and during a heavy shower of rain he, having previously ordered the coachman what to do, and the carriage being purposely prepared, the coachman drove away with the fore part of the carriage, regardless of the cries of the General, who was therefore obliged to walk back on foot in all the rain.

So great was his jealousy, that sometimes when a lady at his house has happened to notice any gentleman more than him, he has torn her cap off her head and turned her out.

Catherine II prohibited Russians from using the word *slave*, in signing their petitions, ordering them to use the expression *faithful subject*; yet servility was not abolished, but still exhibits to a most disgusting excess, as may be seen from the following fact.

When the Grand Duke Leuchtenberg was expected in Kazan, in the Cathedral, a lady threw down her handkerchief on the carpet on which he had to tread. A policeman took it up and presented it to the lady, but she said "No, let it lie, His Imperial Highness will tread on it, and I shall keep it as a memorial."

I do not know whether Mr. KAKOSHIN is to be

considered as a nobleman, but as formerly Grand Master of the Police in St. Petersburg, and afterwards as Governor general of Kharkof, he was, of course, a high functionary, and, in order to give a final proof of Russian embezzlement, I quote the following anecdote.

The public houses of the Capital used to pay him 100,000 Ruble assignats for permission to open one hour earlier, and close one hour later, and the company who had the lighting of the town presented him annually with the same sum, for permission to save their oil in robbing the town of two hours light. After having received this last sum, the Home minister Count Perovsky met him in the palace and congratulated him. In the evening, meeting him in a party, he again congratulated him. Annoyed by this mysterious behaviour, KAKOSHKIN begged the Emperor to make inquiry about the reason of it, and when the Czar was informed of the whole affair, he said to Kakoshkin : "I congratulate you too, there is cause for it." No other notice was taken of such an abuse.

The last days of Louis Phillippe's reign placed the French nobility indeed in a very bad light. Marquis Praslin killed his wife, Prince Berghes was guilty of a very base action, the late minister Teste was found guilty of embezzlement.

Still when *The Times* accuses Russian officers with pillaging, it is a calumny as they appropriate nothing but the money of the crown.

THE NATIONS OF TURKEY.

**OSMANLIS, HELLENES, YEZIDIS, DRUSES, MARONITES,
ARMENIANS, ARABS, JEWS, &c.**

The Turks of Europe call those of Asia Turks, and themselves Osmanlis, being almost all soldiers, and not employed, as the latter are, in the labours of the field. Yet the Turks are more numerous in Asia, and even the Osmanlis prefer being buried in Asia, having no faith in their European power.

A complete change may be expected in the manners of the Turks from the present reform, and has already taken place in their costume : I am no admirer of the European costume : the turban is a good protection against the sun, and a far better covering for the head than that worn by the Sardinians, who upon a thick head of hair wear a cap, and over the cap a hat, a precaution they take to preserve themselves from fever. The turban gives more expression to the eyes ; our hats are ridiculous, but the *fez* worn by the new Turkish army, is still worse, neither protecting the eyes from the sun, nor the head from the enemy's sword. A long dress conceals badly-formed legs, but is a hindrance to motion. The Turks did well to substitute European for Turkish trowsers. Those wide

trowsers caused the Russians to despise the Turks and call them women, because the prisoners in 1829 used to stop the column on their march, being obliged to use the female posture for a certain purpose.

The Turks are required to be clean, their faith enjoining continual ablutions. Still they perform these ceremonies in a superficial manner, sprinkling water on their slippers or boots, and on their hands. Their houses are not kept clean, and often abound in bugs. The reserved manner of speaking among the Turks, so much praised, does not indeed embrace the *mollahs*, who every morning from their *minarets* three times call the people to wash themselves, after their nuptial duties.

Nevertheless the Turks are cleaner and more reserved in speaking than the Russians, who are accustomed to use disgusting words, and whose army, when on march, leaves an effluvium behind.

The Turk is indolent and idle, even more so perhaps than the Neapolitan, whose *far niente* he calls *Keif*. But we hope, when industry is more extended, this disposition will be counteracted.

Even Admiral Slade, the apologist for everything Turkish, cannot but confess, that the Turk is honest through pride, and the Greek dishonest through oppression.

The dominion of the Turks over other nations is very different from that of the Russians. They do not impose on them their own nationality and religion,

but content themselves by levying taxes. Still they divided the land in Servia among the Spainis, and Asiatic Greece among the *Derebeys*. Those landowners formed there a stronghold for the Divan, and their destruction by Sultan Mahmud, is deplored by tories, like Layard and Slade. They do not consider, that those few proprietors, taking the part of the lion, leave to the rest of the inhabitants a miserable lot.

The reproach cast by the same authors upon the reform, for centralizing the administration, rests on no better foundation, the municipalities having been preserved, as the best means for collecting the tribute, for which the whole commune is responsible.

Among the Rayas, there are two kinds of municipalities, which the Greeks inherited from the Romans, and which the Slavonians have always had. The rural municipalities elect every year, on St. George's day, their *primates*, called also somewhere *proesti*, *protoyere*, &c. These chiefs are from three to twelve in number, according to the state of the locality. At the head of them is the *Kadja-Bachi*, who acts as a mediator between the municipality and the Porte, who has the collection of the *Kharadj*, or the taxes, and who also acts a judge. In the towns, each parish elects its *ephors*, in general three in number. But the taxes being there indirect, and the administration preserving to itself the rights of judgment, the self-government of the urban municipi-

position is of less extent than that of the rural; importance of the latter is raised by the late invention of provincial councils, called *syphiles*.

The spirit of the Greeks is that of an exact *espi*, and there is nothing to prevent any one rising to highest offices of the state, and we have seen a common labourer become an admiral, and a woman, the mother of a slave, become a favoureress, and other were raised to great honours. In the Greek community has experienced the same as those of other countries, having been supplied by the middle class.

The very greatest calamity of the Turks did only rise the imperial of their power. Compelling the Greeks to wear some badge on their dress, like a girdle, and forbidding them to use arms or horses, they paid their attention to the taxes they exacted.

Monastiraki and Gibbon say, that the Ottoman government exercised an expropriation in the country, as in the Low Empire, having introduced but of late. But before this was the case, there were many other discriminatory and arbitrary imposts, obliging serfs to pay the revenue products of the soil, and assessments at every kind. The Greeks were allowed to use a halo in their churches, and they were subjected to any officer. It was because the Greeks were in want of their abilities, and hence they were much as greater than in their

barbarous way. The cause of the Greek revolution was nothing but oppression, and the bad policy of the Porte, and it is not true, as Ubicini, in the second volume of his *Lettres sur La Turquie*, says, that, after the establishment of the kingdom of Greece, instead of their having been an emigration from Turkey, the contrary was the case; the population of the kingdom has thereby increased one half. After having raised the Greeks to the skies, we should not run to the opposite extreme, and calumniate them. Mr. Layard said in the House of Commons, that the Greek Government was worse than the Turkish, for being guilty of enormous abuses in election matters. We have in more civilised countries plenty of abuses in such matters, and not to consult the wishes of the people at all, in respect to their destiny, as is the case with the Porte, is a still greater evil. On the same occasion, Mr. Layard said, that he would rather sleep in the Turkish quarter of Constantinople, with open doors, than in Pera. The presence of European rascals has nothing to do with the governing of the Rayas by the Turks. The Fanarites, or the inhabitants of Fanara, the Greek quarter of Constantinople, are the worthy descendants of their fathers, those Greeks more able to speak than labour, who inundated Byzantium, at the time of its restoration by Constantine. The Greeks of the islands, who far surpass the Turks in number there, carry on trade, and have suffered the demoralis-

ing effects attending it, this being so perhaps with the Cyprians more than any others; the Greek mountaineers most bravely fought for their independence.

It is meritorious in FALLMBRAYER,* to have proved that the Greeks are intermixed with Slavonians, who have frequently attempted the conquest of the Low Empire, and who have settled in great numbers in the Morea and in Thessaly. The following names of Slavonian origin belonging to different localities, leave no room to doubt on this point. In the Morea—WARSHAU, KAMENZ, CHYRVATEZ, GLOGOV, BERESOV, LEVETZOV, GLAZ, BUKOVINA, KUKURUZ. In Thessaly—NEVOLIANI VOLO, KALITZA, KISOVA, NEZERO, ZAGORA, KARDA, &c. &c. These Greeks then are to be considered as half Slavonians, an additional reason for their devotion to the Russian Czars, and indeed their priests include them in their prayers, considering them as saints, and show with pride the precious gifts which they have received from them, and keep in their churches.

Asiatic Turkey is divided into Asia Minor, Syria, Armenia, and Mesopotamia.

Asia Minor has a population of nearly 6,000,000 on a superficies larger than that of Germany. It was till the fourth century termed NATOLIA (Eastern Country), in Turkish ANADOLI. It comprises the union

* *Fragments aus dem Orient.*

of **BITHYNIA**, with Scutari, Hunkiar Skelessi, meaning blood drinker stairs, and celebrated for the treaty of 1833 between Russia and Turkey; Ismid, the ancient Nicomedia, &c. **MYSIA** with the ruins of Troy, and of Pergamos. **IONIA**. The village Paluthsha is on the site of the ancient Milet, Ajasaluk, on the site of the ancient Ephesus, Smyrna (Turkish, Isemir) has a population of 180,000 inhabitants. **LYDIA** with Sart on the ruins of Sardis. Manissa is the present name of the ancient Magnesia. **PHRYGIA**, **GALATIA** with Angora, formerly Ancyra, Gordium, celebrated for Alexander's Gordion knot. Galatia owes its name to the Gauls, who conquered it in the fourth century. **CARIA** derives its name from Carians, formerly pirates. Bodrun is the present name of Hallicarnassus. **LYCIA**. Essenide is the once ancient Xanthos. **PAMPHYLIA** derives its name from the Aborigines, so called by the Greeks who arrived there 1180, b. c. Then the Pamphylians went to Mount Taurus, and assumed there the name of Pisidians, from whom **PISIDIA** derived its name. **LYCAONIA**, **CILICIA**, **PAPHLAGONIA**, with the now famous Sinope, **PONTUS** with Trebizonde, the metropolis of the Greek Empire in the thirteenth century, and Battum, a good harbour, and **CAPADOCIA**.

SYRIA has a population of three millions, among which the Arabs are the most numerous. It is historically divided into **SYRIA PROPER** with Damascus, in the neighbourhood of which lie the ruins of

Palmyra, Aleppo, Antioch, and Latakia; SOUTHERN SYRIA and PALESTINE, or ancient Canaan, or Judea, with Jerusalem, which contains 20,000 inhabitants, of whom there are 7000 Jews. Bethlehem is now called Beitel Ham. Between Syria Proper and Palestine was Phoenicia, with St. Jean d'Acre, formerly Accou or Ptolemais; Sur, formerly Tyre; Said formerly Sidon; and Beirut, called Berytus by the Phoenicians.

Syria is inhabited by the famous Druses and Maronites.

The DRUSES believe that they come from China, but their noble families are descended from the Crusaders, and form clans, as in Scotland. They amount to 30,000 souls. Their religion was established by Durazi. Caliph Hakim was their prophet. Their religion is a mixture of Christianity, Mahomedanism, Judaism and Paganism. They believe in the unity of God, and the transmigration of souls, consider Mahomet as a false prophet, but fast when the Moslems do. Polygamy is not allowed, and divorce is so easy a matter, that the husband has nothing to do but to dismiss his wife.

The NOSAIRIEN, who are their neighbours, adore fire, the evil spirit, and the womb.

The MARONITES are rapidly increasing in numbers. In 1784 there were only 120,000 of them, and in 1832 they amounted to more than 200,000, according to Lamartine. Boasi, in a work published in French,

at Constantinople, reckons them at 125,000; and therefore Ungewitter in his estimate must be very far wrong, as in 1845 he gives them a population of 525,000. The truth will lie between these extremes, considering that the single town of Zakle in forty years increased tenfold in population.

The Maronites derive their name from MAROUN, the founder of sacred retreats, which bore his name, and in which some of the Eastern Christians were wandering about in the fifth century. After the Council of Constantinople in the seventh century, the Maronites fled to the Mountains of Lebanon and Antilebanon, where they still live, north-east of Beirut. That country became an asylum for all who had suffered an account of their faith and policy. During the first 600 years, the Maronites remained independent of the Church of Rome; in 1182, they submitted to it, but continued to have their own patriarchs. Their ritual, in common with that of the Greeks, allows the marriage of the priests, and administers the communion in both kinds. They might therefore be called United Greeks, as they acknowledge the power of the Pope, but the two features just noticed are also found among the Primitive Christians, and the Pope, in order to retain his ephemeral power over them, makes every concession. His legate always resides in the chief monastery, Antoura or Kanobin. The Maronites have a sympathy for the French, and believe, that they will put an end to Islamism, which

makes them disliked by the Turks, who could not subdue them till 1843. There are 200 monasteries among the Maronites, with 25,000 monks, who, unlike the Catholics, are simple and laborious. The government is a theocracy, but there are frequent disputes between the Emir and the Bishops. The people are in complete subjection to the priests, whose hand they are in the habit of kissing, as both Russians and Greeks also do. The Maronites are very industrious, particularly in the weaving of silk, and are naturally brave, so that an honourable destiny might well be predicted for them.

Maronites form with the Druses and the METUALIS, a kind of confederation, though in every respect, quite different. The Druses worship the calf, and are therefore perhaps of Jewish origin; the Maronites are Arabs and Christians, and the Metualis are Mahomedans, of the sect of Ali, prevailing in Persia, whilst, as well known, the Turks belong to the sect of Omar. The Metualis occupy Balbeck, and the beautiful country of the Lebanon, around Sour, having maintained possession of that country, though few in number, by extraordinary courage.

THE ANSARIES are pagans, and the rudest of these peoples. Burckard thinks they come from Hindostan, and some of them worship the dog.

The NESTORIANS derive their name from Nestorius, the founder of the sect, in the beginning of the fifth century. Though of Jewish origin, they are the

most ancient Christians. The sacred communion among them is the same as among the Greeks, admit two natures in the Saviour, and are divided into the Nestorians proper and the Papal Nestorians. At their head are two patriarchs residing in the mountains near Julamerk. They are of primitive manners, and amount to 100,000 souls, including those who inhabit Persia.

MESOPOTAMIA contains Nineveh, on the left bank of the Tigris, close to the village, Nunia, and Babylon, now Hilla, a small town on the Euphrates, south of Bagdad. In the Sindsjar mountains live the Yezidis.

The YEZIDIS derive their name from Azed, the ancient name for their God. They have great reverence for the sun and the Polar star. Their prophet is Sheikh Adi, who is also a good deity. The poem of Sheikh Adi abounds in praises of himself. He says : "In the secret of my knowledge. there is no god but me"——"And I am he, to whom the Lord of Heaven hath said : Thou art the just judge and the ruler of the earth."

The Yezidis believe, that Christ will come to govern the world, but that after him Sheik Adi will appear. They hold, that the Mahomedans are excluded from the future life, but not Christians, that no one will be punished eternally, and that those who go to Heaven must first atone for their sins in Hell.

The Yezidis admit no converts, observe fasts, baptism and circumcision. Polygamy is not allowed,

except to chiefs, but concubinage is permitted, and the power to divorce. The dead are buried with the face towards the Kublah or the Polar Star.

The political and religious chief of the Yezidis is called a Kalifa, whose office is hereditary. The nobles, or Cawals are of one family, and are sent to collect the voluntary contributions, a part of which they keep for themselves, another part being appropriated to the support of the tomb of Sheik Adi.

The dresses of the girls among the Cawals are very elegant. They wear many strings of coins, amber, coral, agate, and glass-beads round their necks, black turbans or flowers on their heads, and over one shoulder a kind of plaid; the married women cover their necks with kerchiefs.

The Yezidis belong to the race of the Koords, whose language they speak, and who have given their name to Koordistan and are to be found in great numbers in Armenia. They are a rapacious and warlike tribe, who have only, in recent times, submitted to the Porte. The Nestorians and the German Colonists on the Caucasus suffer most from their invasions. Forming the vanguard of the Turkish army, they always commence the war against Russia, but unable to resist regular troops, they are easily routed by small numbers, and put to flight, they fall upon the Turkish line, to pillage the camp.

Whilst the Armenians begin to accept the Turkish fez, the Koords retain their conical cap of white felt,

with one handkerchief or more over it. The jacket and waistcoat worn by the Koords are Turkish, but the shirt is long. They are armed with a sabre in a black leather sheath, a long gun, and a small round target strengthened with plates of iron or brass one over another.

ARMENIA derives its name from Aram, the son of Shem, and was called by the ancient Romans Albania, probably from the light-coloured beards of the inhabitants, which are still numerous among them. Armenia belonged at different times to Assyria, Media, and Persia, was conquered by Alexander of Macedonia, and governed by his successors; it afterwards belonged to Pontus, and then formed a Roman province. At the end of the eleventh century, Armenia became independent, and was governed by its own kings. In 1522, it was conquered by the Turks, whilst the eastern part of Great Armenia remained Persian, and is now a Russian province. The population of Turkish Armenia is estimated at 2,400,000 inhabitants.

Lamartine calls the Armenians the Swiss of the East, but I think they are more like Jews, money being their grand object. The *sarraf*s, or Armenian bankers, manage the finances of the Asiatic and Egyptian pashas, and enough has already been said of that Armenian who was inexhaustible in the discovery of expedients for procuring money for the Bey of Egypt. In a moment of anger, Mahomet Ali

having ordered him to be drowned, and repenting afterwards, was greatly rejoiced to find that his orders had not been executed. Like the Jews, the Armenians are dispersed throughout the whole world : 40,000 of them live in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras ; there is a colony of them in Nakhitchevan, in the Government of Ekaterinoslav in Southern Russia, visited by Mr. Oliphant. The descendants of the 24,000 families that Shah-Abbas carried away by force from Armenia to Persia in 1605, still live in a suburb of Ispahan. Again, like Jews, the Armenians chiefly attend to the manufacture and sale of jewellery ; agriculture is in a very low state, from want of roads, Yet the Armenians possess a monopoly in supplying Turkey with gunpowder, a privilege enjoyed by the family of Dadians.

I cannot but foretell to the Armenians the same fate as to the Jews, the loss of their nationality and of their religion. Their independence left them four centuries ago, and the Armenian creed does not differ sufficiently from that of the Greek church to allow it to exist as a separate faith. They reject the human nature of Christ, and in their ritual preserve certain traces of the faith of Sesostris, or the Magi relics of their state under the ancient monarchy of Persia, as, for instance, a certain veneration paid to fire. Even yet in Catholic countries, in the feast of St. John, there is the custom of burning straw and pitch, a manifest relic of the ancient worship of the sun. The principal Armenian patriarch lives at Echmiadzin,

which belongs to Russia, and great concessions have already been made by him to the Russian synod and the Czar. The two other patriarchs, at Sis and Agthamar, are not of the same influence; yet the Patriarch of Sis has a greater number of souls under his charge.

The Armenian clergy are poor and without learning, at least those of the lowest order: the learned priests, called *vartabieds*, have had a great many degrees to take.

There are 40,000 Catholic Armenians, originating in the fourteenth century, in the time of Pope John XXII, who sent there a Dominican friar, one Bartholomew the Little. Mr. Curzon, in his *Armenia*, asks, whether he was consecrated bishop of Nakchevan. No, we answer, but at VAGARSABAT. The see was afterwards transferred to SIS or SISID in Cilicia, but is now at BEZOUMMAR in the Lebanon. The patriarch receives £44 per month.

I beg the fair reader's pardon for these dry investigations; however I regard ethnology as more interesting than a traveller's report of the place where he dined, the hour of his departure, and the manner in which he reposed. Still such accounts are easily made, and require not the help of books, and therefore I proceed in my own course.

The finest race in the East are, incontestably, the Arabs, both personally and mentally, not even excepting the Circassians, for if the Arabs of the vallies

are not courageous, those in the mountains, as for instance the Kabyls in Algeria, are of unquestionable courage. Arabian women do not yield in beauty to those of Circassia. As the Arabian horses are the best, so are the Arabian men and women the most beautiful, particularly in the higher classes. A small foot with a high instep, under which water might pass without touching it, is an Arabian or Eastern foot. Arabian eyes are bright and full of joy, and the complexion of the skin amber colour—a colour highly esteemed by connoisseurs.

Arabia is the cradle of the Mussulman faith, and the Koran being written in Arabic, the knowledge of that language is absolutely necessary to all *the faithful*. It is both a sacred and a literary language. Arabian poetry is as remarkable as Arabian philosophy, both of which deserve to be translated into European languages as much as the “One Thousand and One Nights.” The Arabs unite imagination and contemplation with reflection. The Arabian sounds are guttural, but the words are short and easy to be pronounced, and even the frequent occurrence of the *h* is not disagreeable, having passed into Spanish without injuring it, or rendering it inferior to Latin. (For my part, I prefer *mucher* to *mulier*). The Koreishide dialect is the best.

Now that the glory of the Arabians is past, as that of the Portuguese and Spaniards in Europe, it is a difficulty to say whether European civilization is

not better for the Arabs than their own; we refer the observer to French Africa.

The Arabs are dispersed through Asiatic Turkey, and are similar in their manners to those of other countries. A large white woollen plaid is generally worn by them, and costly weapons, as in all Eastern tribes, are their constant companions. Plunder is unfortunately too common among them. The roads to Jerusalem and Mecca are infested by them, and the Sultan himself is obliged to pay them a tribute for insuring a free and unmolested passage to the 100,000 pilgrims who annually visit the tomb of Mahomet. An emir, whose dignity is hereditary in the same family, refuses or permits to whomsoever he will, the approach to Jerusalem.

The Bedouins inhabit the deserts, their name being a corruption of the Arabic *badwi*, desert. The Arabs in the towns or on the sea coasts lose more and more of their ancient manners.

The HEDJE is under the dominion of the Sultan, and a Turkish Pasha resides in Dshedda; the Sultan, however, having but a nominal power, and the pasha, thanks to the distance, being independent. Dshedda is only fifteen miles distant from Mecca, and is in consequence a place of great fanaticism; hence the French have not been able to receive satisfaction for the offence committed against their consul, Mr. Fresnel, in 1849.

The modern Egyptians are Arabs too, but it

would carry us too far to pay to them particular attention.

Still I must mention the COPTS, called in the east OOBBEET. They are governed by a patriarch, residing at Cairo, and called the Patriarch of Alexandria. They believe that Christ had but one nature, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, and they observe baptism together with circumcision. Of Jewish origin, they were organized by MAR-YACKOB.

The Jews of Turkey came almost all from Spain, in 1415 or 1492, flying from the Inquisition, whilst some of them were permitted to settle in Rome, and others went to the Caucasus. Therefore they speak now, not Hebrew, but Spanish, with a mixture of Arabic or Turkish in it, according to their locality. The Jews of Salonica are of longer standing, and externally practising Islamism, whilst at bottom they are Mamins, and are 12,000 in number, thus forming the chief part of the population of the place. The entire Jewish population in Turkey is estimated at 150,000, who are almost all Talmudists or Rabbinnists, there being only very few Karaits, or such as pay exclusive attention to the Pentateuch.

The Jews are governed by the Chief Rabbi, residing at Constantinople, and enjoying equal rights with a patriarch, assisted by a Council of six members. They have been always hated more by the Greeks than the Turks, and they have consequently assisted

the Turks, at all times, in persecuting the Greeks ; even during the war of Independence, they exhibited unusual courage, fighting against the Hellenes. Poor and ignorant, they are kept down by the Rabbis, who forbid their carrying anything on the sabbath day. Yet the reader would be mistaken, if he should suppose, that the Turks are restrained from persecuting them on any other ground, than that of contempt. Having had no fear of them, they did not take the trouble to deprive them of their lives, contenting themselves with extorting money from them. However the Russian Government has exhibited more cruelty towards the Jews than the Porte has, having prohibited them from living in the interior of the Empire, and having obliged them to settle on the Western frontier. To prevent their smuggling, a space of fifty versts from the frontier was laid waste, that it might not be inhabited by them. They were forbidden the use of their particular costume ; they were made to shave off their beards and long locks. Their sons were forcibly dragged away to become soldiers, in greater numbers than were the sons of the other inhabitants, and just as we are writing this, an order is given that every Jew, found without a passport, shall be made a soldier, and that every one that brings such a Jew is exempt from service, the Jew being considered his substitute. Hence, some steal the Jews' passports, and thus profit by them.

THE ALBANIANS, SCANDERBEG, ALI-PASHA.

Several nations claim relationship to that half-savage tribe. Frenchmen say, that the Gauls or Celts, going from Italy, impressed their features on that people (vide Pouqueville, *Voyage en Grèce*). English authors see in their dress that of Scottish Highlanders. The Slavonians are especially disposed to perceive in them the descendants of Illyrians, and let the Armenians believe, that the Albanians came from Albania, the Roman name of Armenia. In fact, the Albanians present such an intermixture of Slavonians, Wallachs, Greeks, &c., that it is quite impossible to recognize their true nationality, their language also being a compound of all those different dialects. They call themselves SKIPITAR, and are very proud of their nationality, though divided into DEGES, who most require blood for blood ; the MOIDITES, who belong to the Romish Church ; the LIAPE\$, the poorest of all ; the TOSKIDS, the most ancient Mussulmans, and the TZIMIS.

In ancient times, we meet there with THRESPOTS, among whom the Greeks placed the Tartarus, the MOLOSSI, where was the seat of the oracle of Dordona ; and the general name for the Albanians was EPIROTES. The Epirus has produced Pyrrhus, or New Ptolemæus, the son of Achilles, who was born

in Thessaly himself; Olympias, the mother of Alexander; and in modern times, Scanderbeg, of whom we shall hereafter speak; Bairacter, who placed the Sultan Mahmud on his throne; and Mohammed Ali of Egypt.

The Albanians or Arnautes are but in bad repute. They supported the Turks against the Servians and the Syrians. Their sword being at the disposal of those who pay best, their name became similar to that of brigands. The Albanian *kleftes* (brigands) have not the excuse that the Servian Hyduks have, who fought for the independence of their country and for their religion. The *kleftes* are mere brigands, and make no scruple of avowing it. Still they supported the Greeks, their co-religionists, in their war of independence, and distinguished themselves among the Palikares.

Albania was known even by Herodotus, and the town Albanon is to be found in the Greek historians. Christianity was accepted by the inhabitants of the shores of the Adriatic, on its first appearance. In the ninth and tenth centuries, Albania made a part of the Bulgarian kingdom, the capital of which was Lychnitis. In 1204, Michael Angelus, a bastard of one of the Comnins, was the lord of Joannina, and even the Emperor of Nice governed it for a short time by means of governors residing in the town of Albanon. In 1422, Sultan Amurat tried to subjugate Albania; and in 1431, this country was conquered by

the Mussulmans. Mohamed II secured only those Albanians in their property who would accept Islamism ; and the inhabitants in the towns and vallies did so, at least externally. KASTRIOTE was among these, and obtained the name of Scanderbeg. But, at bottom, he not only remained a Christian, but even roused his fellow-countrymen to open resistance to the Sultan, and went to Croïa, in the mountains, where he repulsed all the attacks of the Turks. During twenty-four years, he beat all the Ottoman armies sent against him, and compelled the Sultan to conclude an armistice with him, but he was not supported by the crusaders, and died in 1467. The whole country then capitulated, and was ruled by Turkish pashas, but almost all Albanians by birth.

The most famous among them was Ali Pasha, born in 1750, in Tepelin on the Aöus, twenty leagues north of Joannina, of the family of Hissus, of the tribe of Toskides. His grandfather was a kleft, and his father Vely Bey, after having quarrelled with his brothers, went also into the mountains to follow the same occupation ; he then destroyed his brothers. KHAMEO, the daughter of a Bey of Conitza, a descendant of Scanderbeg, was his wife, and the mother of Ali and his sister CHAINITZA.

After the death of his father, Ali remained without any subsistence, the fortune of Vely Bey having passed over to his children by a slave ; he then became a kleft too. At first he displayed no courage,

and was on that account treated with contempt by his mother, the worthy counsellor of a monster. He then followed her advice so well, and plundered so much, that the Gardiki made an attack upon his habitation, took his mother and his sister prisoners, and violated them.

Ali married EMINÉH, daughter to the Capudan Pasha of Delvino, and married his sister to Castron, the Pasha of Argyro. He persuaded the brother of the latter, Solyman, to assassinate him, and Chaïnitza, the widow, became the murderer's wife. But the Pashalick of Delvino did not turn out to be the reward which Ali expected to reap from the murder; it was given to Selim Bey. Though treated as his son, Ali denounced him to the Divan, and received an order to watch him; he then represented Selim's connexion with Corfou in so bad a light, that he was commanded to put him to death. This order he executed in a very treacherous way, and afterwards assassinated Selim's son, Mustapha. The lieutenancy of the Pashalick of Rumelia was the reward for that crime.

In 1787, Ali distinguished himself in the war against Russia, and was appointed Pasha of Triccalia in Thessaly. There he surrounded himself with a guard 4000 men strong, and led them against the brigands of the Pindus, so that he spread around him a salutary terror. This service, united to the presents ably distributed in Constantinople, at last procured him the so much desired post of Pasha of Joannina.

Khameo died, bequeathing to him the task of revenging her dishonour upon the inhabitants of Gardiki and Tchormovo. He executed her last will by immolating them, and then ruined the Beys who had opposed his elevation.

The Souliotes, Christian mountaineers, arose against him, and repeatedly defeated his troops with great loss. But gold distributed among their chiefs, and perfidies of every kind, at last procured him the victory. During the space of eight days, he indulged in the barbarous satisfaction of executing them by a variety of torments.

The chief of a brigand tribe must be a brigand himself; and in the fourteenth century, THOMAS, the Lieutenant of the Servian Queen THOME, left behind him a dreadful memorial of his cruelty among the Albanians, but Ali Pasha even surpassed him in criminality.

Having married his sons to the two daughters of the Pasha at Berat, Ali committed incest with one of them, having first administered to her a soporific draught. But secrets are not kept at the court of a detested despot, and when the unhappy woman knew of her dishonour, she stabbed herself before the eyes of her father-in-law. Ali Pasha despatched his nephew, the Bey of Cleisoura, the husband of the daughter of Chaïnitza. His crimes created such fear, that they strengthened his power, which his presents maintained. Yet it was for a single individual to put

an end to such an accumulation of atrocities. Pacho-Bey having seen his property confiscated by the Pasha, conspired with Ali's son against him. Obliged to flee, he evaded all pursuit, repaired to Constantinople, obtained an audience of the Sultan Mahmoud, and became his Capudan Pasha, or Chamberlain. But even in the Seraglio, he was not secure from the vengeance of Ali Pasha, who sent two Albanians to assassinate him : he was wounded by a pistol shot ; one of the murderers was arrested, obliged by torture to confess, and executed. The courage with which he died, inspired the Sultan with such dread, that he resolved to put an end to the power of a man, who employed such means. A squadron was sent against Albania, and also an army under Pacho-Bey. The whole country readily surrendered, and Ali Pasha retired to Litaritza. *The Old Lion*, as he was called, during eighteen months, repelled all the attacks of the Turkish army. Churchid Mahomet Pasha was then appointed to carry on the siege ; but Ali Pasha succeeded in raising the Albanians against the Turks, and spoke of nothing less than carrying the Greek banner to Adrianople. The old Churchid then had recourse to means similar to those by which Ali Pasha had so often succeeded in destroying his enemies. The pardon of the Sultan was promised him, and he abandoned his citadel to enter into negotiations. Selim, a Turk devoted to him, remained there, with a lighted lunt in his hand, ready, on his master's giving

a signal, to blow up the immense treasures which Ali had collected, and which he had for that purpose laid upon his powder store. After several days had passed in attempting to persuade Ali Pasha, he sent the half of his ring to Selim, who then extinguished the lunt, and was immediately stabbed. Ali Pasha was then shot, but not without selling his life dearly, by killing four Turks (23 February, 1820).

After the death of Ali Pasha, Albania was without a regular government. In some districts, an Aga ruled, in others a Bolo-Bashe, whilst in others there was no one to rule. The population of the country, as under Ali Pasha, amounted to two millions.

The Albanians are tall, of a fine figure, being always in motion; they have oval faces, straight noses, light-coloured eyes, and small mouths. They wear coloured stockings and sandals, two vests, as the Greeks, a woollen mantle with a red border. They carry pen cases in their girdles, even though they do not know how to write. Friends to dancing, they accompany themselves with a guitar, on which they play, not with the hand, but with a small stick. Their favourite drink is the *rackee*, made from grape husks and barley.

THE WAR.

When a sovereign oppresses millions of his subjects, the other powers say that that is nothing to them ; but when the same despot invades foreign states with his hordes, and causes the death of thousands, they at last begin to look at him, and demand of him guarantees for the future. They do not think, that there is a single means for the prevention of such crimes, that is, for the depriving him of his power, or for the placing him under the control of his own people. In our times then, despotism threatening the general peace of the world, ought not to be suffered to exist, but should be abolished by all means, through common effort.

When Nicholas crushed Poland, England contented itself with sending Lord Durham to St. Petersburg to protest against the annexation of that country, but the Czar silenced him by saying, that all Poland was not worth the hundred Russian officers killed at Warsaw. When he invaded Hungary, Palmerston let him know, that Great Britain had no opinion to express on that subject, and when the news of Vilagos reached Paris, the Minister of War entered the President's box in the opera, saying : "God is great and Nicholas is his prophet !" Emboldened by such weakness, the Czar's arrogance no longer knew any

bounds, and there is no wonder, that on the first signs of opposition to his claims on the Porte, he invaded the Danubian Principalities.

Russia never carried on a foreign war against a coalition, but always in alliance with other powers. It was then to be thought, that the Czar had extraordinary means at his disposal. It was said, therefore, that he had some peculiar projectiles, the secret of which he had purchased of a Frenchman, such as would destroy an enemy's fleet before they would be able to fire. But Austria was in truth the resource on which he relied, he having said to the British ambassador, that when he was speaking in his own name, he was also speaking in the name of Austria; but it so happened, that Austria, though saved by him, took upon herself to fly with her own wings. Without doubt, he counted also on the enthusiasm of his own people: the conquest of Constantinople is a popular subject in Russia, but by repeating that that was not his aim, he greatly cooled that enthusiasm.

Had an oracle been consulted as to what would have saved Russia, the answer would, of course, have been a screw, as the oracle of Delphos said to the Athenians, that nothing but a wooden wall (meaning ships) could save them from Xerxes. In fact, it was at the time that the English and French navies introduced the notable improvement, the screw, converting their sailing into steam vessels, that Russia, having a navy in every respect inferior, accepted such

an unequal war. She thought, of course, that as a fleet was useless by land, it could not decide the fate of a war.

In 1849, when Russia occupied the Principalities, she yielded to the request of England alone, and evacuated them, and in 1853 she waged war against England and France together.

Yet neither side could determine upon war, and it is astonishing that, with such a reluctance to fight, diplomacy could not discover means for settling matters, without offending the susceptibilities of each party. The note of St. Petersburg was bold, which said, that the occupation of the Principalities was only in return for the maritime occupation of the Allies. The Czar did not think that there could be a sincere and durable alliance between France and England, and indeed it was a thing difficult to be believed in consequence of the animosity prevailing in England towards the Emperor of the French, after his *coup d'état* in 1852, but the Czar himself reconciled the English and Napoleon by his attack on Turkey. Napoleon, by declaring against Nicholas, killed two birds with one stone, rendering himself popular in England, and strengthening his throne in France. The English people, on their side, exhibited an unusual understanding of their own interests, by turning their anger from Napoleon to Nicholas. It has been said that England would have obtained more from Russia, if she had been alone, and that the

interference of the Emperor of the French only exasperated the Czar, but Napoleon was resolved to act alone, should England stand aloof, and even there are persons who think that Napoleon brought forward the question in respect to the Holy Land, foreseeing all the advantages he would derive from the Czar's irritability on that point. The attack on Sinope put an end to the irresolution of the Allies, and the triumph of NACHIMOF Russia would have to pay dearly for.

Turkey, "that sick man," as the Czar termed it, has given unquestionable evidence of health and vigour, at OLLENITZA and CITALE. Indeed the Russian General, to whom the Czar entrusted the chief command of his troops in Wallachia, Prince Gortchakof, was totally unqualified for such a post. Still receiving his orders from Prince Paskievitch, from Warsaw, and the Russian Minister of War not expecting a war, he was left without any plan for the campaign. Yet whilst Omer Pasha was fortifying himself at Kalafat, which does not lie on the road to Constantinople, Lüders crossed the Danube, and took the four Turkish fortresses, left in a wretched state.

A fleet, such as the world never saw before, without excepting the Spanish Armada, carrying 6,000 guns, left Portsmouth, under the command of Sir Charles Napier, and sailed to the Baltic. The hero of St. Jean d'Acre forgot however two essential things:

an army for disembarking and gun-boats. It was only in Stockholm, when the King of Sweden showed him the boats in the Arsenal, specially reserved for war with Russia, that he requested a flotilla drawing little water.

Meanwhile, Russian prizes were multiplying. It was not considered that Russians not being sailors, they were seizing the property of Finlanders, whose assistance was highly desirable in the Baltic, and the consequence of this selfish rather than able policy was, that the exasperated Finlanders, instead of serving Napier as pilots, offered him obstinate resistance wherever he went.

His rival in the Black Sea, Admiral Dundas, presented himself with 2000 guns, and twenty-five ships, English and French, the latter under the command of Vice-Admiral Hamelin, under the walls of Odessa, previously fortified with some seventy guns. He came to demand satisfaction for the insult paid to the parliamentary flag, which they had shot at from Odessa, upon the steam packet coming too near the batteries, when returning. The Allies required the surrender of the English and French merchantmen detained in the port of Odessa. The bombardment lasted the whole day, before the Russian guns were silenced. Yet the Allies confessed to one Frenchman killed, and two wounded: the crews must, of course, have kept below deck, during the action. Several trading vessels were burnt, and among them some

German ships; the powder magazine blew up; the Palace Royal, and the small mansion of Prince Vorontzof were destroyed; the private houses were spared as far as possible, the greatest part of them belonging to foreigners. Without insisting on any submission, the Allies took their departure, thus giving to the Russian commander, Osten Sacken, an opportunity of saying that he had repulsed them.

Admiral Hamelin, in a subsequent report, said, that cruising before Sevastopol, he in vain challenged the Russian fleet to fight. Thus he leaves us to guess why he did not himself attack the fort. In another report, he informs his superior that the Russians had abandoned the fortresses on the Circassian coast, which they had held for fifty years. He thus forgets that their possession of those shores dates only from the Treaty of Adrianople.

Steam has in our times so shortened distances, that Constantinople is nearer London than it is St. Petersburg. The rapidity with which the English army was embarked equalled only the despatch employed in fitting out the Baltic fleet. However, the geographical position of Russia in respect to Turkey gives a great advantage to the former, which rests on her southern neighbour with all her immense weight, able to invade her whenever she will. France, which boasted of having a vast maritime power, was able only at first to send to the Baltic one man of war, the *Austerlitz*, confessing that all her other

ships were employed in transporting troops, and Admiral Hamelin complained, too, that for the same purpose, two out of his four steamers had been taken away. The French were even compelled to send their cannons by sailing vessels, so that they arrived after the troops. Marshal St. Arnaud was, however, appointed commander-in-chief of the army : he acted only as Colonel in the Algerian war, and General Cavaignac was of the opinion that he was not able to command more than 30,000 men.

In the autumn of 1853, the Russian General, Prince Adrianikof gained a signal victory at Akhaltzik, a battle bravely disputed. There might be seen Polish and Hungarian refugees, serving the Turkish cannons, and when the enemy were too near for them to fire upon them, throwing the balls with their hands in the faces of the Russian dragoons, commanded by the brave General Bogavout. I should have supposed, that after that battle, the Russians would have acted on the offensive in Asiatic, and on the defensive in European Turkey. But, though the Caucasian army was the best, taught in the severe school of Shamyl, the Danubian was looked upon as the most important, and Paskievitch was charged with the task of revenging its defeats, but fortune does not smile upon old men, and she had reserved him only to witness the fading of his laurels.

The Russians were destined, in this campaign, to defeats by land, and success at sea. After Sinope came the capture of the Tiger, and several checks

upon Sir Charles Napier. This is easy to be understood; accustomed to success on land, and depreciating the Turks, they took not sufficient precautions against them, whilst acknowledging the superiority of the Allies at sea, they were cautious enough to run no risks. Napier experienced but the powerful resistance of the granite, and want of depth in the Baltic, on the Russian shores. He was compelled to lose his time in the Gulf of Bothnia, for want of appropriate vessels for those shores. An English fleet was never so far north, but what responsibility does not rest on the Admiralty for their ignorance of that coast, since the entire fleet of Russia there is constructed so as to draw little water. Yet I do not presume to reproach Sir Charles Napier for not having till now attacked Cronstadt, as a blind sacrifice of human life is the sole province of a despot.

Sweden, when asked to take part with the allies, answered, that she would confront the Russian army in winter, only if Poland should rise. Now, to please Austria, the Polish Legion in Constantinople, on the point of being formed, at the suggestion of Sir Stratford Canning, was given up, on the arrival of Marshal St. Arnaud.

Paskievitch thought, that he would have to do with the Turks of 1828, and dreamed not that the reform had metamorphosed them into heroes, defending their native soil with an energy very different from anything displayed by soldiers forced to fight in a foreign country. He fancied he should take Silistria

as he had taken Kars, in Turkish Armenia, sword in hand, and hastening to prevent the arrival of the Allies, he did not wait for the accomplishment of a regular siege. The Russians darted forward to the attack, displayed prodigious valour, and endeavoured to enter through the embrasures, but the Turks surpassed them in determination, and repulsed them. Siliestria is a fortress only of a third rank, but Saragossa is still weaker, before the ramparts of which, made by the breasts of the citizens, the French found their tombs. The Turks have always distinguished themselves in the defence of their strongholds, and till now the Russians have not learnt how to attack them. They are, in that respect inferior to the French, who carried on the siege of Anvers with such precision, that the day when it would be taken was known beforehand.

They are also inferior as to the furnishing their army with provisions, for such was the exactness with which the French performed that service in Turkey, that they excited the admiration of all competent judges.

A Russian organ assured us, that Paskievitch, before the assault upon Siliestria, said to his soldiers, that he would take away their rations, if they did not take the fortress. That would be treating men not like soldiers, but like foxhounds. I rather presume that is the false report of some deserter. Hitherto the Russian generals have been accused of making their soldiers drunk before an engagement: thus,

Meyndorf at Grokhov, and Paskievitch himself at Warsaw. Still Potemkin thought, that ill-fed soldiers were ill-disposed, and therefore kept them better than since his time.

We cannot but regret the poor fellows who have been wantonly sacrificed, as the Russians would have done better to have retired before the siege of Silistra; but we must also express some regret at the loss of the Russian General of Engineers, Shilder, a man of great information, who kept pace with all the discoveries in his own department, and who, as a man of understanding, merited a better fate.

Though the assistance of the Allies has given to the Turks a moral strength, though the Russian fleet has been paralyzed, and though the impediments thrown in the way of more resolute action, on the part of Russia, by the attitude of Austria, are things difficult to be appreciated, still the Turks have proved themselves to be able to resist alone.

The Russians, who do not go further in their studies than ancient history, think that their Czar resembles Alexander the Great, and themselves the Romans; but Alexander the Great respected the customs of conquered nations, so far, that he wore himself the Persian costume, and the Romans were accustomed to put in their temples the deities of the nations they had subdued.

In the present war, the Russians have had again recourse to their infernal means, but without any success. Omer Pasha, learning that his surgeon was

payed for poisoning him, obliged him to drink himself the *strong potion* which he prepared for him, and the surgeon died.

It is well-known that Omer Pasha is a Croat by birth, and as such, he understands Russian well. He found then among his newspapvrs once a written note in this language, asking "for what sum?"

Paskievitch, at his arrival in the camp of Silistria, sent a flag of truce to the commander of the fortress, requesting an interview. The French and English commissioners accompanied the Pasha, and Paskievitch, after saying that the Russians are decided to take Silistria at any price, so that further resistance is useless, made with the hand a sign, meaning that the Pasha would be well rewarded for surrendering Silistria. The commissioners wrote then to Omer Pasha, and Mussa Pasha was sent to replace the Pasha who did not show disgust sufficient at Paskievitch's insinuation.

However, at Rutaïs, 2000 Turks have been killed with their commander HUSSEIN-BEY.

We are not anxious to extend liberty, say the leaders of English policy, we are desirous only of protecting ourselves against Russian encroachments. But Russia represents a principle, Despotism, and she will defend herself against liberty by stifling it in the birth. If liberty, then, does not destroy despotism, despotism will destroy it. When these truths are understood, England and France will no longer conceal the flag of liberty.

THE DESTINY OF RUSSIA AND TURKEY.

The best study for man is the future of mankind, and he who knows the past and the present of a country, is more competent than any other to speak of its future.

At the time of important events, approximative knowledge is not sufficient ; we must hold the finger on the pulse of our enemies, the hand on the heart of our friends. The pulsations of the Russian Czarism are high, and its hopes sanguine, but disappointments await it, its proceedings being those of injustice. Should the Russian empire ever transfer its metropolis to Constantinople, it would of course dismember itself, as the Roman empire did ; but there elapsed not less than four centuries, from the time that the seat of the Eastern empire was transferred to Byzantium, until its fall, a time far too long indeed for the present state of things, especially as Russia has already extended itself enough, to be the "weakly colossus" which must break of itself.

I offered, in the beginning of this volume, a constitution which might suit Russia. I am not so devoted to dynastical prejudices, as not to admit exceptions in every family, whether it be good or bad. The Hohenzollern blood is better than the Holstein, and the Russian Hereditary Grand Duke is the son

of a Prussian princess. His uncle, Alexander, whom Nicholas always reproaches him with resembling, was better than Paul, or than Nicholas himself. The latter said to the Marquis de Custine, that he hated a constitutional form of government, as leading to treachery, which his character repulsed. I have answered this argument, by saying, that the sincerity of despotism is nothing but the impudence of vice, and the openness which the Czar has exhibited in his foreign policy, has carried the things so far, that nobody will ever trust him any more. His abdication is already spoken of, and I propose sending him to St. Helena. His successor can alone give real guarantees to the world of peace, and Russia threatens Europe more by the form of its government than by its real strength, which is exaggerated. At all events, we shall very soon know the intentions of the future sovereign of Russia, whether he will save the monarchy and his dynasty, or expose both to further dangers, by following the fatal policy of his father.

The prosperity of a country does not depend on its geographical extent. Sahara is of great extent, but a desert; and all England is not so large as the single Russian province of Archangel.

Russia will do better without the Baltic provinces than with them, the German inhabitants there, being the greatest promoters of Russo-German despotism. They have no patriotism at all: having been in turn Danish or Polish, Swedish or Russian, they will

become with the same or even with greater readiness Prussian.

Large fleets on seas, like lakes, such as the Baltic and the Black Sea, are useless. The Russian fleet is too large for mere defence, and not adapted for conquest when fighting with English or French fleets. The Russians are not sailors, and the German navy being but a fiction, does not prevent Germany from enjoying a certain degree of comparative happiness. Russia is specially an agricultural country; and whilst her seas are in winter closed to navigation, railways and better roads will be of greater benefit to her than her merchant-men, which she is not even able to protect, as we see in the present war. Home trade is in every country more important than foreign trade. Reduced within the limits in which the Russian language is spoken, Russia will be stronger, more civilized, better governed, and consequently more prosperous, than, at present, since its existence, as such, will be insured by its neighbours having also renounced all thoughts of conquest.

Russia as she was, with the Black Sea on one side and the Baltic on the other, bordered by the Caucasian chain and the Pruth, had her natural limits; but there are no limits to a despot's ambition. War was carried on by Nicholas on the other side of the Caucasus, and nothing less than Constantinople was his aim. Avidity must therefore be punished. The faults of our enemies are our best friends, and

the time is come that the Russians ought to deliver themselves from Nicholas, whose rule is a shame to monarchy and an insult to Russia.

Objections have been raised against my declaration that Siberia will easily separate itself from Russia, the spirit of independence being already infused into it. The principal ground of this objection is, that the whole of the population of Siberia is inferior in number to that of the London metropolis. To this I answer, that the United States of America reckoned only 3,000,000 inhabitants at the time that they declared themselves independent of England.

The French *Moniteur* advises to take the American colonies from Russia, in order to prevent its encroachment in China.

People regret the restoration of Greece. It is become an instrument in the hands of Russia, and has badly rewarded the Western Powers for their cooperation in its re-establishment. It does not care about general freedom, and even its insurrections are of an ecclesiastical, or egotistical, or Russian character.

There is no other way of settling the affairs of Turkey, so as to preserve its independence, but to form a confederation of its different nations, under the protection of the Sultan, some of them being half-sovereign states, and the great majority of the European subjects of the Porte professing a religion different from that of the State. Yet, though the

Turks are less numerous than the Rayas, they are more numerous than any nation taken separately. Nor is their government, fond of equality, opposed to liberty. You may express in Constantinople any opinion you like about the Sultan, without any danger of being prosecuted, and no passports were known in Turkey till Mahmud introduced them by way of reform, believing that they were also a means of progress.

Still, the reform of the Ottoman Porte would by no means be complete, should it not embrace the Greek Church, infected by simony and ignorance.

There are four Greek patriarchs—one in Constantinople, one in Antioch, one in Jerusalem, and one in Alexandria. The first of these has the greatest number of souls under his charge, about three-quarters of the population, and he is the most important of all. He is elected by the synod, composed of the most important metropolitans and bishops, and he must pay 82,000 piasters annually to the Sultan, an abuse which ought to be abolished as soon as possible.

The extent of his power has been considerably reduced of late. Since the fourteenth century, the Servian clergy have been independent of the patriarchs of Constantinople, and since the restoration of Greece, the synod of Athens is a tool in the hand of the Russian synod. It is to be wished then, that a single head of the Greek church extended his power

again over both countries, and even over Montenegro too, the Vladiko of which is at the same time the Metropolitan, carrying the cross and the sword in the same hand, being in secret a subject of the Czar's, and over Russia also, were his abilities adequate to the task. Principles are everywhere the same, and when we demand a separation of ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction in England, we should do the same in respect to Turkey. The civil and criminal jurisdiction should then be taken away from the patriarch, and submitted to the ordinary courts, in order that the Rayas might not be subject to two masters, the Divan and the Church. It is high time to reduce the number of high offices, as has been done in Greece; and the whole church should be supported by the communes and the municipalities, who would then improve the public education.

APPENDIX.

ORIGIN OF THE SLAVONIANS.

Mičkiewicz, and after him many others, assure us, that the Slavonians derive their origin from the Assyrians. Having found two Assyrian kings—Nabuchodonazar and Baltazar—the termination of whose names is zar they conclude that the first name implies as much as, “*No Deus si non rex*,” and that the second means, “Bely Czar, or White Czar.”

But if I take English words, how many are there similar to Russian words, as for instance :—

<i>English.</i>	<i>Russian.</i>
nose	nos
goose	gus
beat	bet
sit	sadetsa
step, march	stupat
sound	zvon
door	dwer
mouse	mysh
cat	kot
flame	plamia

<i>English.</i>	<i>Russian.</i>
church	tzerkov
plough	ploog
beard	boroda
tepid	teplo
war	vor, <i>thief</i>
knife	nog
knee	kalerio
bull	byk
silk	shelk

Shall I here conclude from this that the English and the Russians are from the same nation? Some similarity there must be indeed, and I always held the unity of mankind.

The Slavonians belong to the Indian-German race; but what have they ever had in common with the Assyrians? Where are to be found any remains of the Assyrian architecture, sculpture, and manners among the Slavonians? The similarity in name is reduced to few instances. There are in Russia three Somara—a river and two towns so called, and in Assyria there was a Samaria. Besides, on such a ground, Napoleon would also be a Russian name, *na* meaning *on*, *pole* a *field*, and *on he*.

ETHNOGRAPHICAL POPULATION OF RUSSIA PROPER.

Tahtars	1,858,246
Lithuanians	1,588,993
Tcheremisses, Mordva, and Tchouvashes .	1,075,269
Jews	1,060,132
Tchudis	656,335
Bulgarians, Servians, &c.	556,020
Rumians	498,469
Germans	373,000
Permians, Votiaks, &c.	314,484
Karelis	261,849
Kalmucks	119,162
Gypsies	48,247
Greeks	46,773
Armenians	37,676
Swedes	11,470
Samoieds	4,495
Laplanders	2,289
Voguls	872

THE TCHUKTCHE.

Tchouski, Tchuktche, Tchutski, Tchetko, and other similar appellations, I believe to have all arisen from the word Tuski, meaning a confederation or brotherhood ("Tuski Callowole")

The Reindeer Tuski, or, as I shall call them, Tuski Proper, evidently the original proprietors or occupants of the soil, having their hamlets situate with a regard to pasture for their large herds of tame reindeer, rather than to the conveniences of fishing, which is pursued by them apparently more as an amusement than a necessity, dressing neatly and with taste in the well-cured skins of the deer slaughtered for food, of which the meat is eaten fresh, or smoked, or converted into delicious pemmican. The Fishing or Alden Tuski, speaking a dialect evidently first corrupted from the Esquimaux, and no further disguised by adoption of many words of the reindeer tribe. These of necessity have their huts (called *yaranga*) close upon the sea-shore, being dependent upon the produce of the sea, dressing in seal-skins; and with much less care than their neighbours, filthy in their persons, and frequently revolting in their food, eating almost exclusively fish, whale, seal, and walrus; less athletic, and, indeed, to my view, infi-

nitely inferior both in moral and physical condition to their neighbours.

(*Ten Months among the Tents of the Tusky*, by Lieut. W. H. HOOPER.)

TSHUVASHS' MYTHOLOGY.

TORA (from *Tegri* or *Tongri*, a Tahtaro-Mongolian deity, and not from the Scandinavian *Tora*), the good principle, divided afterwards in any twenty-five deities. **SULDI-TORA** is the highest God. **TSHON-SIORADAN-TORA**, who gives the souls to the babies. **ASLA-ADDII-TORA**, the god of thunder and lightning, literally “the grandfather.” **KEBE**, the destiny. **KHVEL-TORA**, the god of the sun.

SIRDI-PADSHA, the king of the earth; **SIRDI-PADSHA-AMYJ**, the queen of the earth; **SIRDI-PADSHA-YVYL-ZEM**, the children of the former. The god of evil was also a single one, **SHAÏTAN** (Satan); but afterwards he became an abstract deity, and **KEREMET** (from the Arabic *harem*, “untouched”) was the son of the highest god. On the instigation of Shaïtan, people killed him, burned his body, but from his ashes issued great many hostile spirits, and Keremet himself rose again, revenging himself on man. Every village has its own Keremet, and its peculiar evil spirits, to whom sacrifices are made in order to appease them.

(Sboief, *The Aborigines of the government Kazan*, in Russian).

THE CRIMEA.

The Crimea is a Russian Government, the Governor of which resides in SIMPHEROPOL, belonging to the New Russian Country, which is under the power of a Governor General, residing at Odessa.

The ancient chief town, BACKHCHISERAI, is without Russian official buildings and is entirely inhabited by Tahtars. It has, of all Russian towns, the most oriental appearance, a poetical aspect, and might well inspire the poet, as its fountain did in respect to Pushkin. The Mosque, the Palace of the khans, and other edifices are very beautiful.

KERTCH, the ancient Panticapeum, is remarkable for its Museum. Greek, Genoese and Oriental coins are to be found there, as well as in Odessa, in the Collection of the "Society of the Friends of History and Antiquities." KAFFA, the ancient Theodosia, is the largest mercantile port in the Crimea.

SEVASTOPOL, the military harbour, has been so often described, that it scarcely needs anything further to be said about it. French Engineers built its fortifications, which in ordinary times possessed 400 Paixhans guns.

MANKUPA presents nothing more than ruins and rocks, with extensive views over the sea, including the harbour of Sevastopol.

The GOLOVIN family are descended from the Princes HOVRA, the owners of Kaffa and Mankupa, and in all our documents, there is always mention made of Mankupa, and never of Mangupa or Mangud, the termination, of which would indicate the Gothic foundation of that town. We assert, that we had no connexion with Tahtars or Genoese, but with Greeks alone, and there are historians who exclude both the former as to the possession of Mankupa. Prince Ivan Hovra went to Russia in 1488, as stated in the Russian Genealogy (*Rodos lvnaiā kniga*), a descendant of his, when baptised, had for his godfather the Russian Prince Dmitry Vassilievitch, in consequence of which he took the name of Golova, which his descendants changed into Golovin. This fact led to the supposition that the Hovras were Mussulmen, but the word *Golova* means *head, chief, mayor*.

The South of the Crimea is the most fertile part of Russia, but the soil is covered with clay, which is productive only at the depth of a yard from the surface, and which must be removed, a labour rendering the cultivation very expensive, compared with other parts of Russia.*

The progress of the cultivation of wine in this Government is as follows :

In 1823 there were 482,735 *vedros* or gallons.

In 1848, 822,300 *vedros*.

* Seven silver copecks are paid for one *Sagene*, or 3½d. for a fathom.

The prices of the lowest quality are from 25 to 40 silver copecks the vedro, and of a good quality from three to four silver rubles. Superior qualities and liqueur wines are much dearer.

Tobacco does not succeed so well as in Turkey; yet some leaves are gathered of a superior quality. Tobacco seeds serve for the manufacture of an oil which is used both for food and for greasing.

The Southern coast is the favourite resort of the Russian nobility, who have built there the most splendid villas.

LETTERS OF A RUSSIAN DIPLOMATIST.

Under this title were published a couple of letters, just at the commencement of the Eastern question. They were subjected to various judgments, and I myself refuted them in the *Morning Advertiser*. Now a great discovery is made : the Russian diplomatist is not connected with the Russian Foreign Office, but is a democrat. The conclusions drawn therefrom may be easily guessed, by those at least who are acquainted with the world, and vary according to the feelings entertained by the judges towards the author. Some say, that he endeavoured to conciliate the Czar, or to become a friend to Prince Menshikof, and it is only astonishing that no one has called him a Russian agent or spy. Others accuse his facility in writing, saying that these letters are a mistake, or only a false step. The latter judges are exactly those who think of themselves, that it would be a great misfortune to the world, should it, by any means, be deprived of their writings, or their memoirs, as, for instance, by their death.

It is neither Christian-like nor charitable, to dig a ditch for an enemy, or to endeavour to throw him into difficulties, but it does not always depend on ourselves to have, or not to have, enemies, and following our convictions, we are sure to have political enemies.

Be this as it may, *the Letters of the Diplomatist* contained the worst counsel that could be given to the Czar, that is, to invade Turkey.

I think that the author of these letters did not perfectly adopt the language of Russian diplomacy; there is a sort of treachery which an upright man can never imitate. Still these pamphlets are natural, and more calculated perhaps to convey correct ideas of the secret plans and constant aims of the Russian diplomacy, than open attacks or worn-out invectives. Therefore a good deal of bad faith or suspicion was necessary to accuse the author of holding the opinions which he ascribed to his enemies. A dramatist represents every kind of feeling, introducing in his scenes thieves and robbers, giving to them their own language. Is he, on that account, to be called a thief or a robber? There must be somewhere memoirs of dogs, and the correspondences of parrots. Is not literature at liberty to do the same by Russian diplomatists?

Europe enjoyed, in 1852, a sort of happiness, very like stagnation and slavery. The peace at that time was similar to the order, which a French minister (Sebastiani) declared, reigned in Warsaw, when taken by the Russian troops. Such a state of things was at any price to be changed; to create perplexity ought sometimes to be the aim of political men. Absolute countries are ruled by single individuals, whose caprices are sometimes determined by the slightest

events or insinuations. The folly of Nicholas is well known, and when he said to Sir Hamilton Seymour, that France was aiming at Tunis, he borrowed, perhaps, that idea from the diplomatist's French letter entitled, "The Occupation of Constantinople."

These letters not being signed, we cannot name the author without being guilty of an indiscretion, but to charge him with ideas which he presents as matter for ridicule, would be stupid and perfidious.

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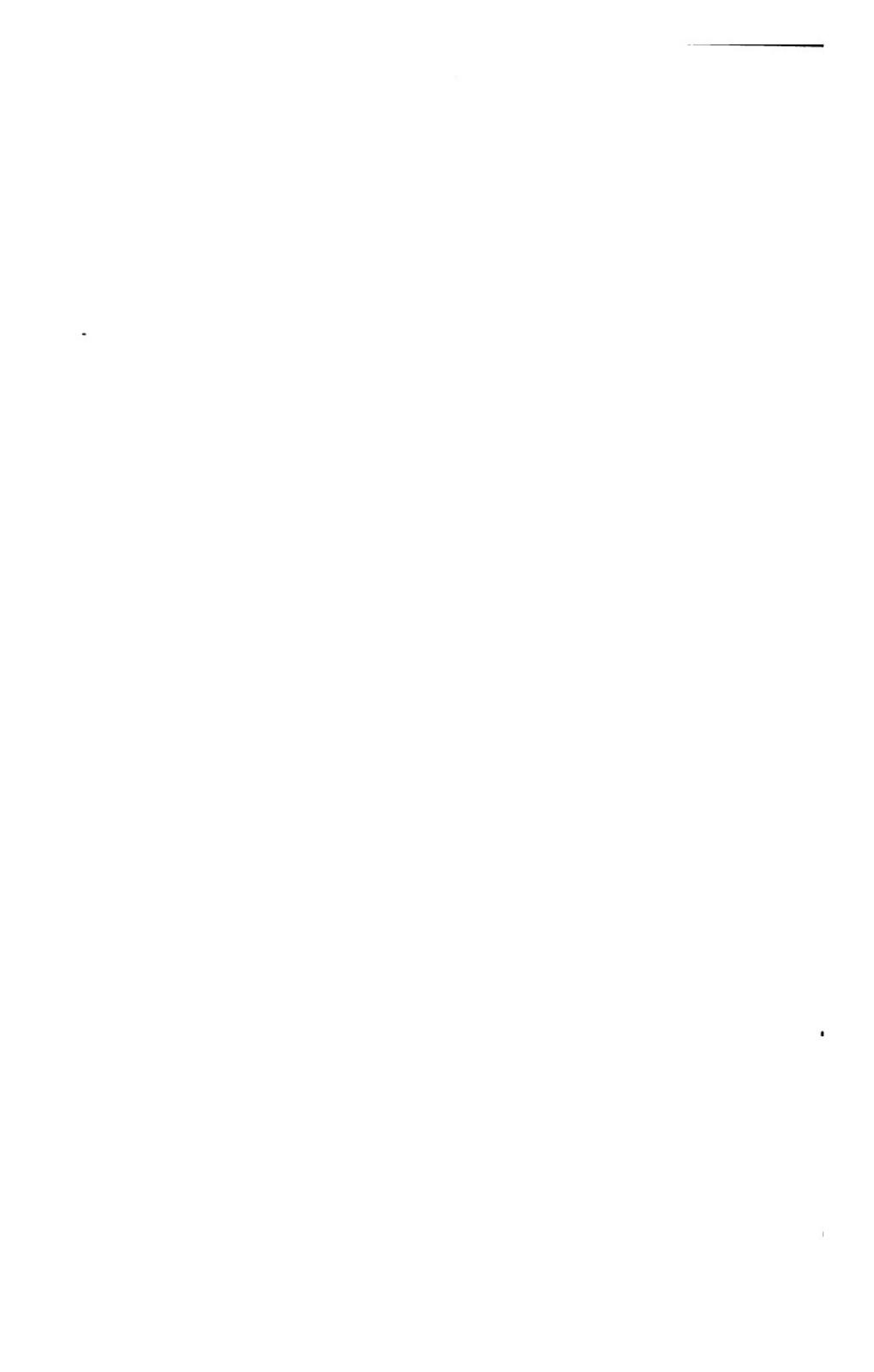
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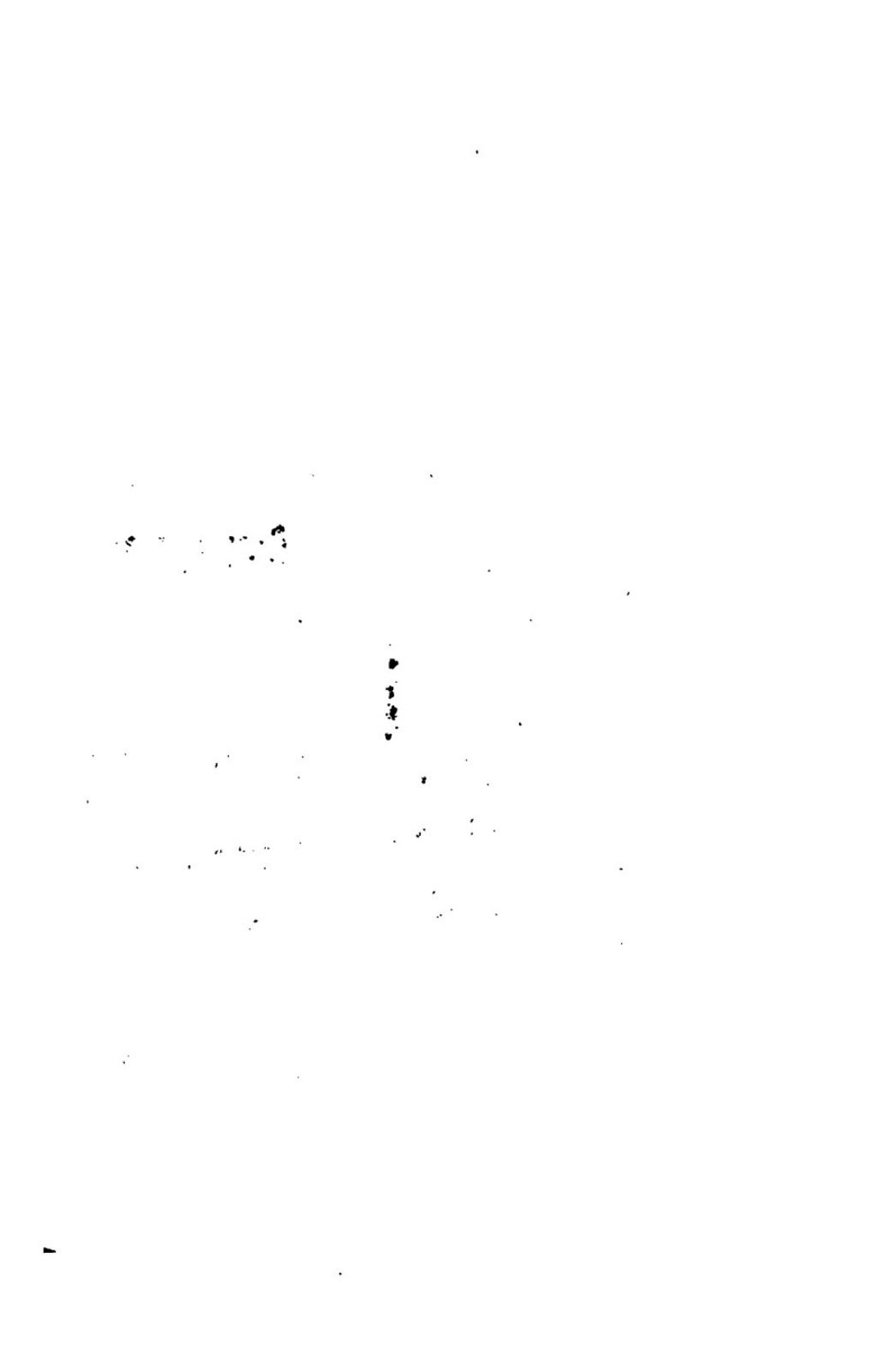
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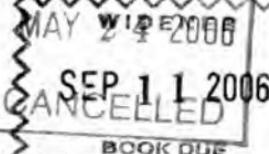
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